

THE

14. W. L.

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

MDCCCXXXV.

JULY—DECEMBER.

62

THIRD SERIES.

VOL. XIV.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλάτωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρείου τι καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστη τῶν αἰρέσεων τεύτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μὲν ἰσχυροῦς ἰσιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν τὸ ἙΚΑΕ'ΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.

CLEM. ALEX. Strom. I. 1.

LONDON:

JACKSON AND WALFORD,

18, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1835.

THE
ELECTRIC

G. WOODFALL, ANGEL COURT, BRINNER STREET, LONDON.

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THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JULY, 1835.

- Art. I.—1. *Memoirs of the Council of Trent*; principally derived from Manuscript and unpublished Records, namely, Histories, Diaries, Letters, and other Documents of the leading Actors in that Assembly. With Plates. By the Rev. Joseph Mendham, M.A. 8vo. pp. xxxii. 380. Price 14s. London, 1834.
2. *Remarks on the erroneous Opinions entertained respecting the Catholic Religion*. A New Edition. By Henry Howard, Esq. 8vo. pp. 16. London, (*gratis*,) 1829.

THIS volume, the production of a learned Protestant clergyman, exhibits the startling novelty of a Dedication to the Pope; but it is one which will not procure for the Author the favour of his Holiness, or protect his book against being placed in the *Judex Expurgatorius* of the Court of Rome. We shall gratify the curiosity of our readers by transcribing it.

'To Gregory XVI., Sovereign and Pontiff of Rome, to whom it is competent to attempt the only means, which, if adopted, would be effectual, of exonerating his Church from the continued charge of superstition and idolatry, of perfidy, cruelty, and assumed dominion over secular sovereigns, by calling a council, for the express purpose of condemning and abolishing every enormity which classes itself under those offensive heads; the present Memoirs of a Council, to which, with others, they are principally indebted for their origin or establishment, are not irreverently addressed by one of the best wishers to his temporal and eternal welfare, THE AUTHOR.'

If Mr. Mendham were not much too grave a person to be suspected of intending a joke, we should have supposed that this page of his work was meant in burlesque. The Christian world has seen enough of councils, to know that nothing good is likely

ever to proceed from them; and as to the present reigning supreme Pontiff, his infallibility would be exerted for no other purpose than the upholding of every enormity of the Papal system. Mr. Mendham has given, in his Appendix, a copy of the original edition of the Encyclical Letter of Gregory XVI., obtained, not without difficulty, from Rome; and the contents, he remarks, 'will demonstrate in what form and degree the doctrine defined and established by the last (and likely ever to be the last) General Council of the Roman Church, is at this day professed, published, and inculcated by the Supreme Head and Organ of its Faith; and how far the indulgent, but not eminently sagacious opinion is well founded, that the Faith of Romanists is changed or improved; an opinion against which not only the whole Papal hierarchy and clergy, but Francis Plowden, and Charles Butler, Esqrs., reclaim.' In this Pontifical Manifesto, of which we regret that an English Translation is not given, the worthy successor of the Piuses, and Pauls, and Leos of the darkest ages, thus raves against the sacred rights of liberty of conscience.

'Atque ex hoc putidissimo INDIFFERENTISMI fonte absurda illa fluit ac erronea sententia, seu potius deliramentum, asserendam esse ac vindicandam cuilibet LIBERTATEM CONSCIENTIÆ. Cui quidem pestilentissimo errori viam sternit plena illa, atque immoderata libertas opinionum, quæ in sacræ, et civilis rei labem late grassatur, dictitantibus per summam impudentiam nonnullis, aliquid ex ea commodi in Religionem promanare. At quæ pejor mors animæ, quam libertas erroris? inquit Augustinus.'*

Again, as to the liberty of the press.

'Huc spectat deterrima illa, ac numquam satis execranda et detestabilis libertas artis librariæ ad scripta quælibet edenda in vulgus, quam tanto convicio audent nonnulli efflagitare ac promovere. Perhorrescimus, Venerabiles Fratres, intuentes, quibus monstris doctrinarum, seu potius quibus errorum portentis obruamur, quæ longe ac late ubique disseminantur ingenti librorum multitudine, libellisque, et scriptis mole quidem exiguis, malitia tamen permagnis, e quibus maledictionem egressam illacrymamur super faciem terræ. Sunt tamen, proh dolor! qui eo impudentiæ abripiantur, ut asserant pugnaciter, hanc

* 'From this polluted fountain of "Indifference," flows that absurd and erroneous doctrine, or rather raving, in favour and in defence of "liberty of conscience;" for which most pestilential error, the course is opened by that entire and wild liberty of opinion, which is everywhere attempting the overthrow of religious and civil institutions; and which the unblushing impudence of some has held forth as an advantage to religion. "But what," exclaimed St. Augustine, "what worse death to the soul than freedom in error?"'

errorum colluviem inde prorumpentem satis cumulate compensari ex libro aliquo, qui in hac tanta pravitatum tempestate ad Religionem ac veritatem propugnandum edatur.—Nefas profecto est, omnique jure improbatum, patrari data opera malum certum ac majus, quia spes sit, inde boni aliquid habitum iri. Numquid venena libere spargi, ac publice vendi, comportarique, imo et obbibere debere, sanus quis dixerit, quod remedii quidpiam habeatur, quo qui utuntur, eripi eos ex interitu identidem contingat?

‘Verum longe alia fuit Ecclesiæ disciplina in excindenda malorum librorum peste vel ab Apostolorum ætate, quos legimus grandem librorum vim publice combussisse.’* p. 367.

This *Scriptural* authority is followed up by references to the decrees of the Fifth Lateran Council and the encyclical letters of former Popes of blessed memory, all condemning the toleration of works containing impure doctrine. The Tridentine Fathers, it is remarked, made this a matter of their chief solicitude, applying as a remedy to this so great evil, that most salutary decree, *de Indice librorum quibus impura doctrina contineretur conficiendo*. We exclaim against the Mohammedan barbarians who made war against libraries and literature; but the Lateran and Tridentine doctors are their rivals in this unintelligent and intolerant zeal.

Waxing warmer as he proceeds, Pope Gregory, in insisting upon the duty of passive obedience to all emperors and kings,

* ‘Hither tends that worst and never sufficiently to be execrated and detested liberty of the press, for the diffusion of all manner of writings, which some so loudly contend for, and so actively promote. We shudder, Venerable Brethren, at the sight of the monstrous doctrines, or rather portentous errors, which crowd upon Us in the shape of numberless volumes and pamphlets, small in size, but big with evils, which stalk forth in every direction, breathing a malediction which we deplore over the face of the earth. Yet are there not wanting, alas! those who carry their effrontery so far, as to persist in maintaining that this amalgamation of errors is sufficiently resisted, if, in this inundation of bad books, a volume now and then issue from the press in favour of religion and of truth. But is it not a crime then, never sufficiently to be reprobated, to commit deliberate and greater evil, merely with the hope of seeing some good arise out of it? Or is that man in his senses, who entrusts poison to every hand, exposes it at every mart, suffers it to be carried about on all occasions, aye, and to become a necessary ingredient of every cup, because an antidote may be afterwards procured which chance may render effective?’

‘Far other hath been the discipline of the Church, in extirpating this pest of bad books, even as far back as the times of the Apostles, who, we read, committed a great number of books publicly to the flames.’

thus inveighs against those who, with detestable insolence, contend for popular liberty.

‘ *Huc sane scelestissima deliramenta, consiliaque conspirarunt Waldensium, Beguardorum, Wiclefistarum, aliorumque hujusmodi filiorum Belial, qui humani generis sordes, ac dedecora fuere, merito idcirco ab Apostolica hac Sede toties anathemate confixi. Nec alia profecto ex causa omnes vires intendunt veteratores isti, nisi ut cum Luthero ovantes gratulari sibi possint, liberos se esse ab omnibus: quod ut facilius celeriusque assequantur, flagitiosiora quælibet audacissime aggrediuntur.*

‘ *Nequè lætiora et Religioni, et Principatui ominari possemus eorum votis, qui Ecclesiam a Regno separari, mutuatque Imperii cum Sacerdotio concordiam abrumpi discipiunt. Constat quippe, pertimesci ab impudentissimæ libertatis amatoribus concordiam illam, quæ semper rei et sacræ et civili fausta extitit ac salutaris.*

‘ *At ad ceteras acerbissimas causas, quibus solliciti sumus, et in communi discrimine dolore quodam præcipuo angimur, accessere consociationes quædam, statique cætus, quibus, quasi agmine facto cum cujuscumque etiam falsæ religionis ac cultus sectatoribus, simulata quidem in religionem pietate, vere tamen novitatis, seditionumque ubique promovendarum cupidine, libertas omnis generis prædicatur, perturbationes in sacram et civilem rem excitantur, sanctior quælibet auctoritas discerpitur.** p. 370.

* ‘ These illustrious examples of unshaken subjection to Rulers, necessarily flowing from the ever holy precepts of the Christian Religion, loudly condemn the insolence and impiety of those who, maddening in the free unbridled passion of untamed liberty, leave no stone unturned to break down and destroy the constitution of states, and, under the appearance of liberty, to bring slavery on the people. This was the object of the impious ravings and schemes of the Waldenses, of the Beguardins, of the Wickliffites, and of the other children of Belial, the refuse of human nature and its stain, who were so often and so justly anathematized by the Apostolic See. Nor had they any other object than to triumph with Luther in the boast, “ that they were independent of every one ;” and to attain this the more easily and readily, they fearlessly waded through every crime.

‘ Nor can we augur more consoling consequences to religion and to governments, from the zeal of some to separate the Church from the State, and to burst the bond which unites the priesthood to the Empire. For it is clear, that this union is dreaded by the profane lovers of liberty, only because it has never failed to confer prosperity on both.

‘ But in addition to the other bitter causes of Our solicitude, and of that weight of sorrow which oppresses Us in the midst of so much confusion, come certain associations, and political assemblies, in which, as if a league were struck with the followers of every false religion and form of worship, under a pretended zeal for piety, but in reality urged by the desire of change, and of promoting sedition, liberty of every kind is maintained, revolutions in the state and in religion are fomented, and the sanctity of all authority is torn in pieces.’

These impotent denunciations against the Protestant churches are very consistently followed up with a deliberate and solemn profession of idolatrous faith in the Virgin, the favourite object of worship in the Church of Anti-Christ, which, it has been remarked, might with more propriety be termed the Marian Church than the Christian.

'Sed ut omnia hæc prospere ac feliciter eveniant, levemus oculos manusque ad Sanctissimam Virginem MARIAM, quæ sola universas hæreses interemit, Nostraque maxima fiducia, imo tota ratio est spei nostræ.' *

It is true, Jesus Christ has the compliment paid him, in the close of the paragraph, of being *Auctor et Consummator Fidei*; but neither the honour due to him as Mediator, nor the trust which he claims as the Son of God, is ascribed to Our Lord by this Pontifical head of Apostate Christendom; both are given to another. The Mediators invoked are, 'Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and his co-apostle Paul.' The Hope and Trust of Pope Gregory is the Virgin Mary.

We must surely consider such a document as an authentic republication of the Roman Catholic faith; and we agree with Mr. Mendham, that it exhibits that faith as neither changed nor improved. If, in any country, Roman Catholics are no longer chargeable with holding the superstitious and abominable tenets taught and prescribed by the Church to which they professedly adhere, we must seek an explanation in other circumstances than any change in Popery itself. It has always been one distinctive feature of superstition, that it allows of an esoteric and a vulgar creed, and presents to those who soar above the implicit credulity of the priest-led multitude, the philosophy of its fables, which gratifies the pride of reason without making any demand upon the faith. Hence, a decent scepticism has always afforded shelter from the grossness of idolatry to men of letters and science, from the days of Socrates down to the time of Julian, and not less so within the pale of nominal Christianity. The esoteric faith of the Romish Church is a refined or concealed deism, which has at all times extensively prevailed among the higher orders of its hierophants. Hence, the liberality of enlightened Romanists is, too often, only the liberalism of unbelief; differing as widely from Christian charity, as does credulity from faith. The Romish Church, in teaching doctrines not merely without evidence, but at variance with it, shuts up its votaries to the alternative of an

* 'But that all may have a successful and happy issue, let us raise our eyes to the most Blessed Virgin Mary, who alone destroys heresies, who is our greatest hope, yea, the entire ground of our hope.'

implicit reliance upon her own authority, or a pathless scepticism.

Faith, superstitious belief, and disbelief, are the only three conditions in which the minds of men can, so to speak, subsist. Where true faith or the spiritual perception of revealed truth has not been produced, either the conscience must find repose in a false religion, or must harden itself in irreligion,—in some modification of atheism. All the various systems of belief resolve themselves into one of these;—true religion, based upon faith and a sense of accountableness to God; superstition, based upon fear and accountableness to the priest; and scepticism, accompanied with the notion of irresponsibility. The Romish superstition, in its vulgar form, meets the case of the ignorant, the unintelligent, and those in whom the passions and animal nature preponderate over the reasoning powers. To such persons, it offers a welcome relief from cheerless doubt, a religion soothing to the imagination, and operating as a narcotic upon the conscience. Unregenerate man finds it an easier and pleasanter thing to be saved by a priest, than to depend upon an Invisible Saviour. Priestcraft, therefore, is the effect, rather than the cause of the corruption of true religion; for human nature is the author of its own delusions. Nothing can possibly prevent the springing up or the spread of false religion, where the light of Scriptural truth has not quickened the spiritual principle; and we see in that deposit of the dark ages, Popery, the ultimate form into which the natural superstition of the human mind has a constant tendency to settle. Popery was, in fact, the relapse of society into a masked paganism, which, in all ages and all countries, is the natural religion of mankind, varying only in costume and nomenclature. It borrowed from the ancient idolatry, its altars, its mass, its hagiology, its virgin goddess, its miracles, its purgatory, and its priesthood. Rome is nearly as Pagan now as in the days of Augustus. The religion of Italy, Sicily, Spain, Portugal, and Austria, is genuine Popery; and that of Turkey and Persia is not less Christian.

But, while we fully admit that Popery is what it ever was, it is impossible to deny that there has sprung up, within the pale of the Romish Church, especially in Protestant countries, a religion calling itself the Catholic, and acknowledging the authority of the symbols of the Romish Church, but differing widely indeed from Popery. Not to go back to the times before the Reformation, when a remnant, who had not bowed the knee to Baal, were found witnessing for God in the darkest times, amid the surrounding apostasy, we may refer to the Jansenists of France as affording a striking instance of the phenomenon in question. In our own country, the English Catholic has always differed very characteristically from the genuine Roman Catholic. The

very soil and climate would seem to have exerted a modifying influence upon the exotic superstition of the South. The pantomime and spectacle of Popery, and its Virgin worship, are far better adapted to the sensual and voluptuous nations of the Mediterranean, than to the phlegmatic and robuster inhabitants of Northern Europe; just as the worship of Krishna and Kali appears unsuited to the temperament of the Tatar tribes north of Imaus. But besides this, the free circulation of knowledge, the character of our political institutions, and the reflex operation of Protestantism, have powerfully contributed to render English Romanism a very different thing from Cisalpine Popery.

With some controvertists, the whole difference is resolved into deception. Not only is every Roman Catholic held responsible for all the errors and abominations of his Church, but his disavowing any of them is represented as either a dishonest pretence, or the result of delusion and ignorance. In acknowledging the infallible authority of the Church, he stands pledged and bound, it may be said, to subscribe to all the doctrines which are clearly taught in its authorized documents. And the attempt to conceal or explain away the points offensive to Protestants, is but a Jesuitical artifice, worthy of a Church which teaches that no faith is to be kept with heretics. Or, if there are Roman Catholics who are deceived by the specious glosses under which the errors of Popery are veiled, they are the dupes of sacerdotal fraud.

Now we must confess that we cannot satisfy ourselves with this summary explanation. In the first place, it is irreconcilable with facts. The Jansenists were neither knaves nor dupes, and yet they openly contended against the doctrines of Popery, while clinging to the false Church. And many of the early reformers were slow in disclaiming allegiance to that authority with which they found themselves brought into collision. It is not less true than strange, that men will give up every doctrine of their Church, before they will renounce the authority that prescribes those doctrines, or forsake the communion in which they have been accustomed to worship. How reluctant were the Nonconformists to leave the bosom of the Church of England, from which they were ejected! And how large a proportion of those who regard themselves as true Church of England men, disavow those very doctrines which constituted the original grounds of Nonconformity! Nay, what Churchman of the present day really holds and observes all that his Church teaches and prescribes, not merely in the Thirty-nine Articles and the Rubric, but in the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, which are still binding on every clergyman, although no part of the law of the land? How unfair would it be thought, to describe, as the belief of each individual member of the Church of England, every point for which the authority of that Church might be cited! Candour and justice

require, then, that a similar distinction should be allowed, between the public faith of the Church of Rome and the private faith of numbers who are still retained within its communion, though disavowing the grosser errors of its creed.

Secondly, the imputation, applied to bodies or communities, of fraud, hypocrisy, or insincerity, which are personal qualities, will be found, on examination, alike absurd and ungenerous. Dissenters, who are accustomed to be assailed with such aspersions in the gross, ought to be particularly on their guard against countenancing such sweeping charges against persons of other communions. A general conspiracy in hypocrisy is impossible : if it could exist, it must be betrayed. Frauds may be practised as a part of priestcraft, so long as the vulgar can be imposed upon ; and an esoteric faith, which it is thought unsafe to divulge, may be held by an initiated few. But, speaking of whole communities, we must admit that no sentiments can be truly held, which are generally and constantly disavowed ; that no bodies of men can be suspected of concurring in an insincere and fraudulent disavowal ; that hypocrisy cannot be rationally suspected, where there is nothing to be gained by it ; and that it is a contradiction, to suppose that men are anxious to propagate doctrines which they repudiate and disclaim.

And, once more, by imputing to all Roman Catholics the gross creed of the papal vulgar, and by refusing to admit their own statements of the doctrines they hold, we not only must wholly fail to convince them of the errors they actually adhere to, but tacitly decline a contest with them upon their own ground. A dangerous concession, that even that refined and modified Romanism, widely as it may differ from genuine Popery, is capable of enduring the test of Scripture or of fair argument ! Yet such is the concession which may be thought to be implied in the line of argument usually adopted, which refuses to take cognizance of the received explanations of the Romish tenets.

The Roman Catholic superstition is bad enough in its mildest form ; and in that form it is the more dangerous, as being so seductive. Those Protestants who, forming their notions of Popery exclusively from ecclesiastical history, regard it only as a monster to be execrated for its impiety, or feared for its cruelty, are ill prepared to combat the specious arguments with which a dexterous Romish casuist would defend his opinions, or to resist the fascinations with which, to certain minds, the ancient and so called Catholic faith is invested. We have no apprehensions as to the spread of the Romish faith in this country. And yet, the cases of individual conversion which have occasionally taken place among the higher orders, both in England and in Germany, as well as its alleged advance in the United States, might serve to shew that Popery is not without attractions, and that it can at

times "transform itself into an angel of light." It is as well for us to be aware, too, how the alleged misrepresentations of the Roman Catholic faith by Protestants are made to serve the purpose of an argument against them, and how injuriously they operate. For instance, in a little tract, entitled "Fifty Reasons, or Motives, which induced His Most Serene Highness Anthony Ulrick, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, to abjure Lutheranism, and embrace the Roman Catholic Religion," we find the following Considerations.

'CONSIDER. XXIX.—I read several authors, who had written against the Roman religion, and I could not but take notice, how in all their arguments they labour to prove, what Catholics do not deny, but on the contrary allow without any difficulty: but they hardly touch upon those points which Catholics hold for articles of faith. For instance, they will bring you a multitude of texts from scripture, to prove that God only is to be adored, and honoured with divine worship; which Catholics are so far from denying, that they believe it to be a sin of idolatry to pay divine worship to any creature whatever. Again, they cite many places in scripture, which makes honourable mention of marriage; but what is all this to the purpose? Catholics condemn not marriage; so far from it, that they put it in the number of their sacraments. Their doctrine in this particular amounts to no more than what St. Paul taught them, 1 Cor. vii. 38, that *he that giveth his virgin in marriage, doth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage, doth better*. Again they speak much of our Saviour's merits, and of the satisfaction he has offered for our sins. Very good. But what then? Do not Catholics likewise teach, that our Saviour's merits are of infinite value, and that his satisfaction suffices for the sins of the whole world? Must this hinder them from giving ear to the voice of St. Peter, 2d Epist. i. 10, *Brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure by good works*: or to that of St. Paul, Rom. viii. 17, *If so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified with him*. They give us great encomiums on faith. And so do the Catholics. But may they not believe St. James, when he says (chap. ii. 24,) *Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only*: or St. Paul, when he pronounces of himself, (1 Cor. xiii. 2,) *Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing*. In fine, our adversaries inveigh most bitterly against the dissolute lives of some of the clergy: but how does this better their cause? Catholics detest it as much as they: but then they admire in the generality of them, that angelical chastity which they preserve both in body and soul.

'CONSIDER. XXX.—I observed not only in these authors, but likewise in the sermons and discourses, both public and private, of other ministers, that their main talent lay in slandering and blackening the Roman Catholic Church. And this alone was enough to persuade me they were but ill provided with arguments against her. For when men in the heat of their disputes fling dirt at their adversaries, it is a certain sign their arguments want an edge. Moreover, calumnies are

always made up of lies and forgeries: and how is it possible by barefaced lies to come at the truth? Yet this is the very case of the sectaries. For instance, they will have the world to believe that Catholics adore the saints; that they take the Pope for a God; that they put their hopes and confidence more in their own merits and in those of the saints, than in the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and a thousand other stories, without any other foundation, but pure malice, to support them. Now I could not think it rational to ground my faith on palpable lies and calumnies; and for that reason I resolved to inform myself of the truth of things; and having happily found it, I rejected all these new sects, as so many impostures.'

We do not imagine this Tract to be the genuine production of his Serene Highness; although it is certainly that of a very indifferent theologian and not very honest controvertist. The argumentation is contemptible, and is fitted to impose only upon minds already trained to the implicit reception of bold and unsupported assertions. For example, at p. 65, the Duke is made to assert, that the Roman Catholic Church 'is the only religion for which all nations renounced, and still in these very days renounce, paganism and idolatry.' A palpable falsehood, taken in every way. One of the Fifty Reasons for embracing the Roman Catholic Religion is, that 'the faith of the Roman Church was that of St. Paul, as this apostle tells us in his Epistle to the Romans, ch. i. 2.'!! Another reason is, that 'all that ever fought against this Church in their separation from it, as Arius, Pelagius, Marcion, Macedonius, Mahomet, &c., with their followers, burn in the everlasting flames of hell;' and that 'Luther, Calvin, and the like innovators of these latter days, were equally arch-heretics; so that to take them for guides, were to run a risk of eternal damnation.' A further reason is, that 'the editions of the Augsburg Confession, which the Lutherans look upon as the foundation of their religion, vary from each other, and very widely differ from the original.' A Lutheran Duke could scarcely have penned this silly misrepresentation, or have confessed that he had 'never been able to learn upon what account the Lutherans alone call themselves evangelical, or why the Calvinists style themselves the reformed religion.' Were this the case, that he had been unable to inform himself on these heads, he must have been so inexcusably ignorant of the tenets and history of the Lutheran Reformed Churches, as to disqualify him for forming any judgement upon the subject. Once more, we have presented to us, as another reason, that 'the arms of Protestants against the Catholics are calumnies, foul language, and barefaced lies, without any one solid argument to support the charge.' *Mutato nomine*, this exactly describes the logical weapons which this Tract puts into the mouth of his Serene Highness, Anthony Ulrick, Duke of

Brunswick. The 'Translator's Preface' is remarkable, however, as recognizing the duty of every man's taking care 'to inform himself whether the communion in which he happened to receive his education be the true Church or not.' This wise Prince is represented as having acted upon this sound principle. He considered, we are told, 'that since every branch of Protestantism pretended to be the purest part of the Reformation, and *quarrelled with all the rest as well as with the Church of Rome*, which equally condemned them all, he could not answer it to his conscience, nor to Jesus Christ, if he acquiesced in the dictates of the Lutheran Church, which had nursed him up, without taking an impartial view of all persuasions, and examining them by such *texts of scripture as are intended to inform and guide our judgement in the things we are to believe of God and of his Church*.

'How any man,' continues the 'Translator,' 'that calls himself a Protestant, can dispense himself from the like enquiry, I cannot understand. It being a first principle of the Reformation, that every Christian is to gather the first articles of his faith, not from the lips of his pastor, but from scripture, by his *private judgement*; that is to say, by the industry of his own enquiries. Now if any one is desirous to comply with his obligation in this particular, this book will present him with a short and easy method of proceeding in this necessary search; and provided he enters upon it with those pious dispositions the author mentions in his preface, it is to be hoped he will reap the like comfort from his labour.' p. iv.

But, if any reader wishes to see how much may be urged by Romish ingenuity in defence of the tenets of Popery, and how plausible the Mystery of Iniquity may be made to appear, we recommend him to procure two or three popular Tracts now lying before us, the titles of which we give below*. The Author of the first of these, Mr. Gother, is stated to have been a Protestant,

* "A Papist Misrepresented and Represented; or a two-fold Character of Popery: the one containing a Sum of the Superstitions, Idolatries, Cruelties, Treacheries, and wicked Principles laid to their Charge: the other laying open that Religion which those termed Papists own and profess, the chief Articles of their Faith, and the principal Grounds and Reasons which attach them to it. Selected from the original of 1683, by the Rev. John Gother. Republished by the late Ven. and R. R. Richard Challoner, D.D. Twenty-sixth edition, (18mo, pp. 106,) London, 1825."

"The Grounds of the Catholic Doctrine, as contained in the Profession of Faith published by Pope Pius IV. By the Ven. and R. R. Richard Challoner, D.D., Bishop of Debra, and Vic. Ap. Thirteenth Edition, (18mo, pp. 82,) London, 1828."

"An Abstract of the Douay Catechism. (24mo. pp. 94,) London, 1824."

who, after strict examination, finding himself to have been deceived as to the true character of the professed creed of English Catholics, joined the Church what he had heretofore opposed; and to him, Dr. Challoner, with many others, owed their 'choice of the Catholic Unity'. The plan of the work is ingenious. In thirty-four Articles, the creed and character of the Papist are set forth, first, in the colours in which they are usually painted by Protestants, and secondly, according to what, 'after sixteen years' conversation with men of that communion, in 'hearing their sermons, in being present at their catechising, in 'reading their books, and discoursing with them,' the Author found to be their doctrine. We make no apology for giving a specimen or two of this extensively circulated tract; deeming it of high importance that all who call themselves Protestants, should be aware of the aspect under which they have to deal with Popery in this country.

' §. 1. *Of praying to Images.*—"A papist misrepresented, worships stocks and stones for gods: he takes no notice of the Second Commandment, but, setting up pictures and images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and his other saints, he prays to them, and puts his trust and confidence in them; much like as the heathens did in their wooden gods, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, &c.; and for this reason he erects stately monuments to them in his churches, adorns them sumptuously, burns candles, offers incense, and frequently falls down prostrate before them, and with his eyes fixed upon them, cries out, help me, Mary; assist me, Anthony; remember me, Ignatius."

' A Papist truly represented believes it damnable to worship stocks and stones for gods, to pray to pictures or images of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, or of any other saints, to believe any virtue or divinity in them, or to put any trust or confidence in them. He is expressly taught the contrary to all this by the council of Trent, (Sess. 25,) and his very children are instructed in their catechisms, which are in the hands of all, that they must "by no means pray to pictures or images, because they can neither see, nor hear, nor help them." See Abstract of the Doway Catechism, upon the first Commandment; Abridgement of Christian Doctrine, chap. iv. &c. But what use then does the Papist make of pictures or images of Christ, of the blessed Virgin, or other saints? Why, he keeps them by him, to preserve in his mind the memory of the person represented by them; as people are wont to preserve the memory of their deceased friends by keeping their pictures. He is taught to use them, so as to cast his eyes upon the pictures or images, and thence to raise his heart to the things represented, and there to employ it in meditation, love, and thanksgiving, desire of imitation, &c., as the object requires: as many good Christians, placing a Death's head before them, from the sight of it, take occasion to reflect upon their last end, in order to their better preparing for it; or by seeing Old Time painted with his fore-lock, hour-glass, and scythe, turn their thoughts upon the swiftness of time, and that whosoever neglects the present, is in danger of beginning then to desire to lay

hold of it when there is no more of it to come. These pictures or images having this advantage, that they inform the mind by one glance of what in reading might require a whole chapter. There being no other difference between them, than that reading represents leisurely, and by degrees; and a picture, all at once. Hence he finds a convenience in saying his prayers with some devout pictures before him, he being no sooner distracted but the sight of these recall his wandering thoughts to the right object; and as certainly brings something good into his mind, as an immodest picture disturbs his heart with filthy thoughts. And because he is sensible that these holy pictures and images represent and bring to his mind such objects as in his heart he loves, honours, and venerates; he cannot but on that account love, honour, and respect the images themselves. As whosoever loves their husband, child, or friend, cannot but have some love and respect for their pictures; whosoever loves and honours his king, will have some honour and regard for his image. Not that he venerates any image or picture, for any virtue or divinity believed to be in them, or for any thing that is to be petitioned of them; but because the honour that is exhibited to them, is referred to those whom they represent. So that it is not properly the image he honours, but Christ and his saints by the images: as it is not properly the images or pictures of kings or other men that we respect or injure; but by their images or pictures we respect or injure the persons themselves. All the veneration therefore he expresses before all images, whether by kneeling, lifting up the eyes, burning candles, incense, &c., it is not at all done for the image, but is wholly referred to the things represented, which he intends to honour by these actions; and how by so doing he breaks the second commandment, he cannot conceive; for he acknowledges only one God, and to him alone gives sovereign honour; and whatsoever respect he shews to a crucifix, picture or image, seems to him no more injurious to any of the commandments, than it is for a Christian to love and honour his neighbour, because he bears the image of God in his soul; to kiss and esteem the bible, because it contains and represents to him God's word; or to love a good preacher, because he reminds him of his duty; all which respects do not at all derogate from God Almighty's honour; but are rather testimonies of our great love and honour of him, since, for his sake, we love and esteem every thing that has any respect or relation to him.

‘§. 2. *Of worshipping Saints.*—“The Papist misrepresented makes gods of dead men: such as are departed hence, and are now no more able to hear, or see, or understand his necessities. And though God be so good as to invite all to come to him, and to apply themselves to their only and infinite Mediator Jesus Christ; yet so stupid is he, that, neglecting, and, as it were, passing by both God and his only Son, and all their mercies, he betakes himself to his saints, and there pouring forth his prayers, he considers them as his mediators and redeemers, and expects no blessing, but what is to come to him by their merits, and through their hands; and thus, without scruple or remorse, he robs God of his honour.”

‘The Papist truly represented believes there is only one God, and that it is a most damnable idolatry to make gods of men, either living

or dead. His church teaches him indeed, and he believes that it is good and profitable, to desire the intercession of the saints reigning with Christ in heaven ; but that they are gods or his redeemer, he is nowhere taught ; but detests all such doctrine. He confesses that we are all redeemed by the blood of Christ alone, and that he is our only Mediator of redemption : but as for mediators of intercession, (that is, such as we may lawfully desire to pray for us,) he does not doubt but it is acceptable to God, we should have many. Moses was such a mediator for the Israelites ; Job, for his three friends ; Stephen, for his persecutors. The Romans were thus described by St. Paul to be his mediator ; so were the Corinthians, so the Ephesians ; (Ep. ad. Rom. Cor. Eph. ;) so almost every sick man desires the congregation to be his mediators, by remembering him in their prayers. And so the Papist desires the blessed in heaven to be his mediators, that is, that they would pray to God for him. And in this he does not at all neglect coming to God, or rob him of his honour ; but, directing all his prayers up to him, and making him the ultimate object of all his petitions, he only desires sometimes the just on earth, sometimes those in heaven, to join their prayers to his, that so the number of petitioners being increased, the petition may find better acceptance in the sight of God. And this is not to make them gods, but only petitioners to God ; it is not to make them his redeemers, but only intercessors to his Redeemer ; he having no hope of obtaining any thing but of God alone, by and through the merits of Christ ; for which he desires the saints in heaven, and good men upon earth, to offer up their prayers with his ; the prayers of the just availing much before God. But now, how the saints in heaven know the prayers and necessities of such who address themselves to them, whether by the ministry of angels, or in the vision of God, or by some particular revelation, it is no part of his faith, nor is it much his concern it should be determined. For his part he does not doubt, but that God, who acquainted the prophets with the knowledge of things that were yet to come many hundred years after ; that informed Elisha of the King of Syria's councils, though privately resolved on in his bed-chamber, and at a distance, 2 Kings vi. 12., can never want means of letting the saints know the desires of those who beg their intercession here on earth ; especially since our Saviour informs us, Luke xiv., that Abraham heard the petition of Dives, who was yet at a greater distance, even in hell ; and told him likewise the manner of his living, while as yet on earth. Nay, since it is generally allowed, that even the very devils hear those desperate wretches who call on them, why should we doubt that the saints want this privilege, who, though departed this life, are not so properly dead, as translated from a mortal life to an immortal one ; where, enjoying God Almighty, they lose no perfections which they enjoyed while on earth, but possess all in a more eminent manner ; having more charity, more knowledge, more interest with God than ever, and becoming like angels, Luke xx. 36. And as these offered up their prayers for Jerusalem, and the cities of Judah, Zach. i. 12, so undoubtedly they likewise fall down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints, Apoc. v. 8.

§. 3. *Of addressing more supplications to the Virgin Mary than to*

Christ.—"The Papist misrepresented believes the Virgin Mary to be much more powerful in heaven than Christ, and that she can command him to do what she thinks good: and for this he honours her much more than he does her Son, or God the Father; for one prayer he says to God, saying ten to the holy Virgin."

'The Papist truly represented believes it damnable to think the Virgin Mary more powerful in heaven than Christ; or that she can in any thing command him. He honours her indeed, as one that was chosen as the mother of God, and blessed amongst all women; and believes her to be most acceptable to God, in her intercession for us: but owning her still as a creature, and that all she has of excellency is the gift of God, proceeding from his mere goodness. Neither does he at any time say even so much as one prayer to her, but what is directed more particularly to God, because offered up as a thankful memorial of Christ's incarnation, and acknowledgment of the blessedness of Jesus, the fruit of her womb: and thus without imagining there is any more dishonouring of God in his reciting the Angelical Salutation, than in the first pronouncing it by the angel Gabriel and Elizabeth; or that his frequent repetition of it is any more an idle superstition, than it was in David to repeat the same words over twenty-six times in the 126th psalm.'

* * * * *

'§. 6. *Of merits and good Works.*—"The Papist misrepresented believes Christ's death and passion to be ineffectual, and insignificant, and that he has no dependence upon the merits of his sufferings, or the mercy of God for the obtaining salvation; but that he is to be saved by his own merits. And, for this reason, he is very zealously busy in fasting, in watching, in going in procession, in wearing hair-shirts, and using a thousand such like mortifications; and having done this, he thinks himself not at all beholden to God for his salvation, and that to give him heaven will be no favour; it being now his due upon the account of his meritorious achievements, without any God-mercy to Christ's passion, or his Maker's goodness."

'The Papist truly represented believes it damnable to say that Christ's death and passion is ineffectual and insignificant; and that it is the doctrine of devils to believe, that he has no dependence for his salvation upon the merits of Christ's sufferings, or the mercy of God; but only upon his own merits and good works. It is his faith to believe, that of ourselves we are not sufficient so much as to think a good thought; that the grace by which we are justified, is given us purely gratis upon the account of Christ's merits: moreover, that no man, how just soever, can merit any thing, either in this life, or in that to come, independent of the merits and passion of Jesus Christ; nevertheless, that through the merits of Christ, the good works of a just man, proceeding from grace, are so acceptable to God, that through his goodness and promise they are truly meritorious of eternal life. And this he has learned from the apostle, 2 Tim. iv. 8, where he is taught, that there is a crown of justice, which our Lord, a just judge, will render at the last day; not only to St. Paul, but also to all those that shall have fought a good fight, and consummated their course, kept the faith,

and loved his coming. Knowing therefore, that at the day of judgment he is to receive according to his works, he endeavours by good works to make his vocation and election sure, 2 Peter i. 10. And in following this counsel, he thinks he no more offends against the fullness of the merits of Christ, or God's mercy, than the apostle does in giving it.

'§. 7. *Of Confession.*—"The Papist misrepresented believes it part of his religion to make gods of men; foolishly thinking they have power to forgive sins. And therefore, as often as he finds his conscience oppressed with the guilt of his offences, he calls for one of his priests; and having run over a catalogue of his sins, he asks of him pardon and forgiveness. And what is most absurd of all, he is so stupid as to believe, that if his ghostly Father, after he has heard all his villanies in his ear, does but pronounce three or four Latin words over his head, his sins are forgiven him, although he had never any thoughts of amendment, or intention to forsake his wickedness."

'The Papist truly represented believes it damnable in any religion to make gods of men. However, he firmly holds, that when Christ, speaking to his apostles, said, John xx. 22,—Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained; he gave them, and their successors, the bishops and priests of the Catholic Church, authority to absolve any truly penitent sinner from his sin. And God having thus given them the ministry of reconciliation, and made them Christ's legates, 2 Cor. v. 18, 19, 20; Christ's ministers, and the dispensers of the mysteries of Christ, 1 Cor. iv.; and given them power that whatsoever they loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven, Matt. xxviii. 18; he undoubtedly believes, that whosoever comes to them making a sincere and humble confession of his sins, with a true repentance and firm purpose of amendment, and a hearty resolution of turning from his evil ways, may from them receive absolution, by the authority given them from heaven; and no doubt but God ratifies above, the sentence pronounced in that tribunal; loosing in heaven whatsoever is thus loosed by them on earth. And that, whosoever comes without the due preparation, without a repentance from the bottom of his heart, and a real intention of forsaking his sins, receives no benefit by the absolution; but adds sin to sin, by a high contempt of God's mercy, and abuse of his sacraments.'

'§. 8. *Of Indulgences.*—"The Papist misrepresented believes that his holy father the Pope can give him leave to commit what sin he pleaseth; especially, if he can make him a present of a round sum of money, he never need doubt of indulgence or pardon for himself and his heirs for ever, for all sorts of crimes or wickedness, he, or any of his posterity, may have convenience of falling into: and having this commission in his pocket, under the Pope's broad seal, he may be confident that Christ will confirm and stand to all that his Vicar upon earth has granted, and not call him to any account for any thing he has done, although he should chance to die without the least remorse of conscience, or repentance for his sins."

'The Papist truly represented believes it damnable to hold, that the Pope, or any other power in heaven or earth, can give him leave to

commit any sins whatsoever : or that, for any sum of money, he can obtain an indulgence or pardon for sins that are to be committed by him, or his heirs, hereafter. He firmly believes that no sins can be forgiven without a true and hearty repentance : but that still, there is a power in the Church of granting indulgences, by which, as he is taught in his Catechism, nothing more is meant, than a releasing, to such as are truly penitent, of the debt of temporal punishment, which remained due on account of those sins, which, as to the guilt and eternal punishment, had been already remitted by repentance and confession. For we see in the case of King David, 2 Sam. xii. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, that the debt of the temporal punishment is not always remitted, when the guilt of the sin is remitted ; and as the Church of God from the beginning was ever convinced of this truth, therefore, besides the hearty repentance and confession which she insisted upon in order for the discharge of the guilt of sin ; she also required severe penances, sometimes of three, seven, ten years or more, for the discharge of the debt of the temporal punishment due to divine justice. Now the releasing or moderating for just causes these penalties incurred by sin, is called an indulgence. And the power of granting such indulgences is visibly implied in the promise of the keys, and of binding and loosing made to the pastors of the Church, St. Matt. xvi. 19. And the exercise of this power was frequent in the primitive church ; and is even authorized by the example of St. Paul himself, who granted such an indulgence to the incestuous Corinthian, 2 Cor. ii. 10 ; forgiving, as he says, in the person of Christ ; that is, by the power and authority he had received from him. Now the good works usually required for the obtaining indulgences, are prayer, fasting, visiting churches, confession, communion, and alms-deeds : but what money there is given at any time on this account concerns not at all the Pope's coffers, but is by every one given as they please, either to the poor, to the sick, to prisoners, &c., where they judge it most charity. As to the rest, if any abuses have been committed in granting or gaining indulgences, through the fault of some particular persons, these cannot in justice be charged upon the church, to the prejudice of her faith and doctrine ; especially, since she has been so careful in the retrenching them ; as may be seen by what was done in the council of Trent, *Decreta de Indulgentiis.* pp. 18—28.

Dr. Challoner's Tract goes over the same ground, and of course gives the same specious representation of the Tridentine Faith. In Chap. iv, 'of the Real Presence and Transubstantiation,' the language of the Church of England is cited as supporting the Catholic doctrine.

'Hence, the Protestants, in their Catechism in the Common Prayer-book, are forced to acknowledge, "that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." Now, how that can be *verily and indeed taken and received*, which is not *verily and indeed* there, is a greater mystery than transubstantiation.

"The literal sense is hard to flesh and blood :

But nonsense never can be understood."

Dryden's *Hind and Panther*."

The doctrine of Purgatory is thus vindicated *from Scripture* :

' *How (founded) upon Scripture?*

' Because the scripture in many places assures us, "that God will render to every one according to his works," Ps. lxii. 12. Matt. xvi. 27. Rom. ii. 6. Revel. xxii. 12. Now this would not be true, if there were no such thing as Purgatory ; for how would God render to every one according to his works, if such as die in the guilt of any even the least sin, which they have not taken care to blot out by repentance, would nevertheless go straight to heaven ?

' *Have you any texts which the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers interpret of Purgatory?*

' Yes, 1 Cor. iii. 13, 14, 15, "Every man's work shall be made manifest. For the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire. And the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon," (that is, upon the foundation, which is Jesus Christ, ver. 11,) "he shall receive a reward. If any man's works shall be burnt, he shall suffer loss : but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire." From which text it appears, that such as, both in their faith, and in the practice of their lives, have stuck to the foundation, which is Jesus Christ, so as not to forfeit his grace by mortal sin ; though they have otherwise been guilty of great imperfections, by building wood, hay, and stubble, (ver. 12,) upon this foundation ; it appears, I say, that such as these, according to the apostle, must pass through a fiery trial, at the time that "every man's work shall be made manifest : " which is not till the next life ; and that they shall be "saved" indeed, "yet so as by fire," that is, by passing first through Purgatory.

' 2dly, Matt. v. 25, "Agree with thine adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him : lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily, I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing." Which text St. Cyprian, one of the most ancient Fathers, understands of the prison of Purgatory. Epistle 52. ad Antonianum.

' 3dly, Matt. xii. 32, "Whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come." Which last words plainly imply, that some sins, which are not forgiven in this world, may be forgiven in the world to come ; otherwise, why should our Saviour make any mention of forgiveness in the world to come ? Now, if there may be forgiveness of sins in the world to come, there must be a purgatory ; for in hell, there is no forgiveness, and in heaven, no sin.

' Besides, a middle place is also implied, 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, 20, where Christ is said, by his spirit, to have gone and "preached to the spirits in prison which some time were disobedient." Which prison

could be no other than Purgatory; for as to the spirits that were in the prison of hell, Christ did certainly not go to preach to them.

'How do you ground the belief of Purgatory upon tradition?'

'Because both the Jewish Church long before our Saviour's coming, and the Christian Church from the very beginning in all ages and all nations, have offered prayers and sacrifice for the repose and relief of the faithful departed: as appears in regard to the Jews from 2 Machab. xii. where this practice is approved of, which books of Machabees, the church, says St. Augustine, lib. 18. de Civ. Dei, c. 36, accounts canonical, though the Jews do not. And in regard to the Christian Church, the same is evident from all the Fathers, and the most ancient liturgies. Now such prayers as these evidently imply the belief of a purgatory: for souls in heaven stand in no need of our prayers, and those in hell cannot be bettered by them.' pp. 41—43.

Here, it will be observed, the citation from 2 Macc. xii. is not given under the head of *Scripture* proofs, but under the head of tradition. In all the quotations, Dr. Challoner follows 'the common Protestant Bible, for the sake of a great part of' his 'readers that may have been accustomed to it; not designing thereby to declare' his 'approbation', much less preference, 'of that version'. We cannot forbear to transcribe part of the defence of image-worship.

'What kind of honour do Catholics give to the images of Christ and his saints?'

'A relative honour.'

'What do you mean by a relative honour?'

'By a relative honour, I mean an honour which is given to any thing, not for any intrinsic excellence or dignity in the thing itself, but barely for the relation it has to something else; as when the courtiers bow to the chair of state, or Christians to the name of Jesus, which is an image or remembrance of our Saviour to the ear, as the crucifix is to the eye.'

'Have you any instances of this relative honour allowed by Protestants?'

'Yes; in the honour they give to the name of Jesus, to their churches, to the altar, to the Bible, to the symbols of bread and wine in the sacrament. Such also was the honour which the Jews gave to the ark and cherubims, and which Moses and Joshua gave to the land on which they stood, as being "holy ground," Exod. iii. 5, Jos. v. 15, &c.'

'How do you prove that there is a relative honour due to the images or pictures of Christ and his saints?'

'From the dictates of common sense and reason, as well as of piety and religion, which teach us to express our love and esteem for the persons whom we honour, by setting a value upon all things that belong to them, or have any relation to them: thus, a loyal subject, a dutiful child, a loving friend, value the pictures of their king, father,

or friend: and those who make no scruple of abusing the image of Christ, would severely punish the man that would abuse the image of his king.

'Does your church allow of images of God the Father, or of the Blessed Trinity?'

'Our profession of faith makes no mention of such images as these: yet we do not think them unlawful, provided that they be not understood to bear any likeness or resemblance of the divinity, which cannot be expressed in colours, or represented by any human workmanship. For, as Protestants make no difficulty of painting the Holy Ghost under the figure of a dove, because he appeared so when Christ was baptized, Matt. iii. 16, so we make no difficulty of painting God the Father under the figure of a venerable old man, because he appeared in that manner to the prophet Daniel, vii. 9.' pp. 57, 58.

Our readers will notice in this and the preceding extracts, the dexterous application of the *argumentum ad hominem*, drawn from the language and ceremonies of the Anglican Ritual. In an appendix are given 'the rational inducements to the Catholic faith, which, according to Dr. Jeremy Taylor, a learned Protestant prelate, (Lib. of Proph. Sect. 20, p. 249, 250,) may very easily persuade persons of much reason and more piety, to retain that which they know to have been the religion of their forefathers, and which have had actual possession and seizure of men's understandings, before the opposite professions had a name.' Jeremy Taylor would seem to have been not very far from being as good a Catholic as Dr. Challoner. And there has always existed a class or school of high-churchmen within the English Church, whose sentiments approximate almost, if not quite as nearly to this modified Popery, as the expositions we have cited do to the grosser creed which forms the actual religion of the millions under the Papal bondage. Compare the doctrines of the Church of England as held and expounded by Thomas Scott and Legh Richmond, with the Church of Englandism of Archbishops Laud and Parker, and the difference will be found almost as wide and essential as between the Popery of Gother and Challoner and Charles Butler, and the Popery of Pope Gregory XVI. and the Austrian or Irish peasantry.

Now, if there be any danger of the revival of Popery in this country, it must be in this milder form, which may be termed the *evangelicalism* of the Romish Church; between which and high-church tenets there has always been a strong affinity. And in this form, as it has not yielded to the force of penal statutes, so neither will it succumb beneath the knock-me-down-arguments of certain polemics, who think that, by pronouncing Popery a damnable heresy, they have settled the business. Archbishop Whately has shewn with equal acuteness and candour, that the errors of

Romanism, having their origin in human nature, may lurk under Protestant forms*.

The cry of 'No Popery' has ever proceeded from a party the nearest akin to the Papists in their ecclesiastical policy. It is a remarkable fact, that the English Catholics have generally sided with the Tories in politics, discovering as little sympathy with their brethren in Ireland, as was manifested by the Clergy of the Church of England towards the persecuted French Protestants. We hope that it will not be regarded as a breach of candour to say, that Popery is, by a large proportion of the more violent Anti-Catholics, viewed with disfavour and apprehension, *not as error, but as dissent*. When the Papal hierarchy in France was overthrown at the Revolution, the Clergy of the Church of England mourned in sackcloth, and Bishop Horsley echoed the eloquent lamentations of Burke over the fallen power of the Gallican priesthood. How is it that the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood are not fortunate enough to possess the sympathy or respect of the English clergy? Simply because they are placed in an opposite political predicament. In France, Popery was the established religion: in Ireland, it is in hostility to the Church-establishment. This makes all the difference. Hence, the same Government has been found upholding Popery abroad, and proscribing and persecuting it at home; and without any *political* inconsistency. The only heresy in the eyes of political Churchmen or Church and State religionists is—*Dissent*.

We cannot but regard it as a very strong argument against ecclesiastical establishments, that they uniformly tend to create, in the minds of the endowed order, a sympathy, more or less, with the ministers of all other Established Churches, of whatever creed, as having a common cause; and to cut them off from all cordial intercourse with the pious of every non-established communion. This has been strikingly evidenced in the history of the English Church from the time of Elizabeth to the present moment. There is nothing which an Episcopalian more heartily abhors than Presbyterianism, so long as it wears the garb of Dissent; but let it be once politically established, and his animosity is disarmed. We have recently seen English Episcopacy and Scottish Presbyterianism, forgetful of all the blood shed in their ancient feud while struggling for political ascendancy, now that each is the ascendant Church within her own domain, embracing as sisters, and making common cause against those arch heretics, the Voluntaries. If Popery were the Established Religion of Ireland,—nay, were its priesthood but participants in the bounty of the State, like the *Regium Donum* Churches of Ulster,

* See Ecl. Rev. Vol. V., 3d Ser. p. 113.

we make no doubt that we should hear little more of the No Popery cry in certain quarters. Dissenters would then have cause to look well to themselves, for they might expect to find English Bishops, Scotch Presbyters, and Irish Priests all in holy league against them.

It is not, however, as a political adversary that Popery ought to be viewed by the enlightened Protestant; and the feeling of angry irritation or alarm which it is apt to awaken when regarded in this light, ill agrees with that spirit of faith which becomes the champions of the truth, and the servants of Christ. Why is Popery more to be dreaded, or why should it be encountered more angrily, than Mohammedism or Paganism? Nothing can be more foreign from the genuine zeal of the Christian Missionary, than that fierce and haughty spirit of defiance and invective in which the apostles of Protestant ascendancy have gone forth against Popery. It was not so, that Christianity achieved its triumphs.

But we ought really to beg pardon of Mr. Mendham, for having suffered ourselves to be so long diverted from his curious and interesting Memoirs, which let us more behind the scenes, in the whole transactions of the Council, protracted through twenty-five sessions, than any work which has yet appeared. Of the sources, chiefly manuscript, from which he has derived the information now first communicated, he gives the following account.

‘I am in possession of a rather copious collection of manuscript volumes in folio, and of varied but competent bulk, on the subject of the Council of Trent, formerly the property of the Earl of Guilford, and forming a part of his unique and very valuable library, dispersed not many years ago. I purchased the collection, consisting of twenty-eight volumes, from Mr. Thorpe, in 1832. The greater part appear to have constituted a portion of some public or extensive library, or libraries, in different parts of Italy and Venice; the product, not improbably, of the spoliation of the collections of cardinals, or other opulent individuals interested in ecclesiastical matters, during the time in which the French were masters of that portion of the world. This conjecture is confirmed by circumstantial or internal evidence. They are probably none of them originals, but copies, of varying age; and there are among them duplicates of a part or the whole of the separate volumes.’ pp. vii., viii.

He then proceeds to describe the voluminous documents thus fortunately obtained. Among those which he reckons of inferior importance, is one which must be regarded as of no slight value; a transcript of Father Paul’s History of the Council, in Italian, corrected by Cardinal Pallavicino’s history in very extended annotations, written in a hostile spirit; and a private letter from the Cardinal to the Author of the transcript, signed with his auto-

graph, is attached to an early page of the work. From these ample materials, Mr. Mendham has compiled a continued narrative of the proceedings, which terminated, at length, in giving an authoritative and definite form to the ever-varying and disputed doctrines of the Romish Church. This result, Mr. Mendham regards as, in some respects, a compensating advantage;—but it is an advantage only, we submit, to the polemic.

‘The canons and decrees of Trent, with the riveting creed and oath which issued from the authority of the Council, and both expressed, and was sanctioned by its enactments, have at length fortunately bound the Proteus, and fixed him to a figure which he can no longer change. We cannot indeed altogether subscribe to the position, that the Council of Trent erected, what were formerly only questions of the schools, into dogmas of faith. Rome had certainly not a few dogmas of faith before, founded upon the highest and most binding authority, her preceding councils, not to add the constitutions of her chief pontiffs: and while a Nicene council established the worship of images; a Lateran one, transubstantiation, and auricular confession; a Florentine, purgatory and papal supremacy; while her liturgies and offices oblige the participants in them to offer prayers to saints; to implore their intercessions and the application of their merits before God; to deify the Virgin Mary by such appellations and addresses as belong exclusively to divinity; and to adore an equally deified vegetable substance under the manufactured form of the consecrated host;—it must be acknowledged, that matters of belief of no trifling number or ponderosity were hung about the necks of the papal population. Still, there was a great deal remaining, which the Tridentine synod contrived to add to the burthen, both upon itself, and upon all who were to receive it.’ pp. xx., xxi.

The Council of Trent may be said to have had its origin in that loud call for a reformation of the Church, which had been heard in the Papal world even before Luther denounced the venal indulgencies issued by Pope Leo X. in 1517. His successor in the pontificate, Adrian VI., shewed some desire to reform his Court; but his design was opposed by Cardinal Soderini, who observed, that to reform the Church, would be to canonize the cause of Luther, which he should unite with the princes of the empire in endeavouring to extirpate. He accordingly sent his Legate to the Diet of Nuremberg, then sitting, 1522, who endeavoured to compromise matters by making the suppression of Lutheranism the condition of the reformation of the Papal Court. This proposal produced the list of grievances presented in the name of the assembled princes, known by the title of *Centum Gravamina*, the authenticity of which, Mr. Mendham shews to be indisputable.

‘Adrian, although chiefly intent upon crushing Luther and his doctrine, was, for the attainment of that object, willing to make great sa-

crifices, and, in order to them, very humble confessions. In one of his instructions to his legate, he commissions him to say:—"We acknowledge that, in this holy see, there have for some years been many abominations, abuses in spirituals, excesses in mandates,—all things, in fine, perverted. Nor is it to be wondered, if the sickness of the head should descend to the members, that of the chief pontiffs to the other inferior prelates. We have all (prelates and ecclesiastics) declined to our own ways; and it has been long that there was none who did good, no not one. Wherefore," &c. Such language was little likely to please any Roman sycophant; and Pallavicino could not well do otherwise than applaud the simplicity of the pontiff at the expense of his prudence.

'The Italian Diarist has noticed and described the contents of the *Centum Gravamina* in fair proportion. He has specified the various extortions, expensive dispensations, absolutions, indulgences, pecuniary penances, and so forth. But the document is too important to be dismissed in a summary way. Let the reader take any edition of the book into his hand, and peruse only a few of the century of charges which the lay and principal members of a great legislative assembly of the German empire felt themselves impelled to bring against an authority, which they still acknowledged as supreme in spirituals. Let him begin with the third article, on the burthen of papal indulgences, by which money was drawn in profusion from the simple, brought like any other commodity for sale into public market, and, in proportion to the price paid, conferring what the purchaser could not understand otherwise than as a licence to sin; whence all kinds of specified iniquity. Let him read in article vii. what is affirmed of the authorized questors, the stationary preachers of indulgences—their impostures, their extortions. Not to detain himself with the minor, although scandalous impositions respecting ecclesiastic benefices, the Annates, Reservations, Expectative graces, and various assumptions of temporal jurisdiction, let him proceed at once to the lxviiith article, where the ecclesiastic judges and officials are charged with aggravating the spiritual penance to such a degree, that laics are induced to purchase immunity with money, which goes no further than the private pocket of the ecclesiastics. Let him, in article lxxiv, read how double fees are imposed upon some for the same offence; and in the two following, the charge of unchastity and profligacy in the lives of the clergy. Article xc. is to much the same purpose; and the next, openly, in the face of the world, and in the ears of his holiness at Rome, like all the rest, declares, that while concubines were allowed to priests on the payment of a certain tax, the same tax was levied upon those who lived continently, because the bishop was in want, and they were at liberty to do otherwise at their option. The xciiid article asserts and exposes the pertinacity with which the vagabond Terminaries and Stationaries, monks and priests, infested sick beds, and the artifices which they used to obtain legacies. The whole, however, of this portentous document ought to be read, to convey an adequate view of the superlative iniquity of the church, as well as court, of Rome, at the time. "The whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint: from the sole of the foot even unto the head, there was no soundness in it; but wounds and bruises, and

putrifying sores." So the prophet denounced the church and court of Jerusalem ; and Rome was not more pure.'

'The friends of real Christianity, which, under present circumstances, necessarily implied substantial and considerable reformation, had little to expect from the ascetic and superstitious virtues of Adrian ; and his early removal, whether natural or not, put a termination to all hopes or fears respecting his personal performances in the purification of his church.' pp. 6—9.

In the mean time, the Protestant Reformation lost no ground ; and the importunate demands for a reform of some kind within the Church, compelled the new Pope, Paul III., after summoning council to meet at Mantua, to which he cited the excommunicated King of England, to issue a commission for the purpose of examining into the abuses of the Papal court. The Commissioners were Cardinals Contarino, Sadoletto, Carafa, (afterwards Paul IV.,) and Polo (or Pole). Their report was printed in the ensuing year at Rome, under the title: "*Consilium Delectorum Cardinalium et aliorum Prælatorum, de emendanda Ecclesia, S. D. N. D. Paulo Tertio ipso jubente conscriptum, et exhibitum Anno M.D.XXXVIII.*" Mr. Mendham has given an abstract of this 'penitential and self-condemnatory document,' which Carafa, one of its authors, when raised to the pontificate, actually placed in the Index of prohibited books ! Paul III., however, was disposed to take the matter of the report into consideration ; but, on consulting his Cardinals, he was told, that it was not the proper time, as such an act would give occasion of triumph to the Lutherans.

'After two prorogations, the pontiff published a bull to assemble the council at Vicenza, in the Venetian territory, on the 1st of May, 1537 ; and even sent three legates to open it in the following year. Against this new announcement and location of a council, the king of England published a fresh protestation, dated April 8, 1538. The pope suspended the meeting on the 10th of June, 1539.

'In the mean time, imperial diets were being held ; which produced great terror in Rome, lest the temporal sovereigns should take the matter of reformation into their own hands, and assume to themselves the office, which the bishop of Rome regarded as exclusively his own, of interfering with, and regulating, affairs of religion. Between this terror and the antagonist one of being necessitated to call a council, which, if it effected any true and adequate reformation in doctrine or discipline, would bring certain destruction to the whole system of the papacy, the mind of its sovereign was distracted ; and the dilemma produced all those vacillating, but almost uniformly corrupt, measures, by which, throughout, the Synod of Trent was characterized.'

'The reader will hereafter discover that it was the main point with Rome, to establish doctrine precisely to such an effect as to crush heresy ; that is, the supposed existing form of it at the time, the Lu-

theran ; and the main point of the Emperor was, to let the former rest, and enforce reformation. But reformation was the great dread of the Papacy ; and we shall trace the contrivance and intrigues of that power to evade or avoid it.' pp. 14, 15 ; 29.

These extracts from Mr. Mendham's Introduction, will, we think, render our readers desirous of perusing his Memoirs of the Council itself, which exhibit a laborious collation of all the contemporary documents that throw light upon its proceedings. The Bull of Indiction for the meeting of the council is dated May 22d, 1542 ; and summoned the council to meet at Trent on the 1st of November following ; but this bull, which is prefixed to every edition of the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent, was suspended in July 1543 ; and a new bull was issued, summoning the council for March 15th, 1545. The council was not actually opened, however, till December 13th of that year, being the third Sunday in Advent, in the 12th year of the Pontificate of Paul III. After being continued, from time to time, during eighteen years, it was at last terminated with indecorous precipitation. The French Cardinal (Lorraine) urged a speedy close of the council 'from the necessities of France ; and because it had been determined in a meeting of the king and the states, that, if the council did not terminate, *a national council should be called*, the evils of which might easily be anticipated.' His argument was enforced by the illness of the Pope, and the dangers which might be apprehended from his death, or that of the Emperor, while the Council was still existing.

'On the 3d of December, at an early hour, the twenty-fifth and concluding session of the council commenced, and the decrees were published with almost universal consent. The legates, although determined upon closing the council, yet finding it impossible to get through all the business which they had before them, published from the pulpit, that the session would be continued and finished on the next day. After divine service, the legates employed themselves at home in preparing for the transactions of the morrow, and every thing was completed. Among the preparations was the decree of indulgences, to any definition of which Morone was averse, partly because he doubted whether it would not give an occasion of disputation and of protracting matters, and partly thinking it better that so important a subject, presenting so many points of controversy, should be entirely omitted, than that it should be slightly treated. The cardinal of Lorraine, however, with many other prelates, was anxious that some mention should be made of indulgences, lest the error of the heretics should be more confirmed, if they should see that nothing was done about them ; and likewise, because this very omission alone might easily be made a pretence for convoking a fresh council. Therefore, on that very night, a decree concerning indulgences was composed ; and early the next morning, before the church was opened, the

ambassadors and very many of the prelates were called together, and before them were read all the decrees which were to be promulgated in the session, together with this of indulgences, respecting which, openly and before all, cardinal Morone professed that he was not satisfied that any thing should be defined. Lorraine, however, Madruccio, all the ambassadors, and other prelates, replied and expressed their approbation of the form then delivered. There were, however, withdrawn from it some words, which expressly prohibited the paying of any certain sum of money for indulgences, not even when what are called suspensions are given; and these words were withdrawn in favour of the count de Luna, because they appeared to be industriously selected to designate the Spanish cruzada.

‘ On the 4th of December the session was concluded, and at the same time an end was put to the council. There were promulgated on it the following decrees—of Indulgences, of choice of food, of an Index of books, and of a Catechism. We may add, from Servantio, and, indeed, from the decrees themselves, the reformation of the Breviary and Missal. Afterwards were read all the decrees relative to faith, published under Paul III. and Julius III. Assent was then given by the fathers to the question whether they were pleased that the council should close, and the confirmation of it by his holiness be requested; and the chief president dismissed them in peace. The cardinal of Lorraine, justly enough denominated, the French pope, led the concluding acclamations, which ended with three anathemas, which were probably multiplied into three times three, loud and deep.’

pp. 311—313.

After referring to Mr. Charles Butler’s panegyric upon this iniquitous Council, Mr. Mendham thus concludes his narrative.

‘ We are content with the more sober and historical statements to be found in the authorities which have been mainly and almost exclusively cited in the preceding memoirs. And when the reader has perused the testimony of eye-witnesses and parties, of leaders themselves, unexceptionable, and even favourable to their subject as they are, let him honestly say, (without denying considerable exception, but smothered and quenched,) whether, in the whole compass of history, any legislative assembly, the furthest possible remote from religion of any kind or degree, can be pointed out, in which more of exclusively secular motives and objects, more interested policy, more immoral and dishonourable intrigue, more flagrant injustice towards the party devoted to suppression, and more violent and indecorous internal contention were exhibited, than in this professedly religious convocation of all the spiritual wisdom and piety of Christendom, arrogating to itself the peculiar direction of the Holy Spirit, and undertaking to enact and issue laws, both for the defence and guidance of the universal church, and for the correction or condemnation of its enemies.’

p. 323.

The Protestant public are much indebted to the Author of this volume, for the laborious pains which he has taken to illustrate a

most important chapter of modern ecclesiastical history *. The canons and decrees of this Council still exercise a binding authority over the Roman Catholic world, from which it can be relieved only by the decisions of another general council, repealing the ecclesiastical laws then agreed upon, by an equal authority. A distinction, however, is made by the Catholics themselves, and therefore ought to be kept in view by Protestants, between the decrees of councils defining articles of faith, and those which regard discipline and matters of civil polity. A great portion of the laws of this description enacted by the Council of Trent, have never been generally received. While Spain admitted them entire, France rejected them altogether. For instance, the Council decreed, that the field wherein a duel is fought, shall be forfeited by the owner; a salutary but wholly abortive enactment, which never took effect even in Spain or Belgium.

It has been maintained by high Romish authorities, that 'not all things which are even absolutely and simply affirmed in councils are decrees of faith,' but only those, the denial of which is adjudged to be heresy, and anathematized †. Dr. Doyle remarks, that the canon of the Council of Trent, re-enacting Confession to the Priest, innovated upon the old custom, by removing the obligation which the Church law before imposed, of more frequent confession, and limiting its observance to once at least in each year. This canon 'relaxed the ancient discipline'; and 'it is very possible,' he adds, 'that if a general council were assembled in our days, it might repeal the ecclesiastical law altogether, and leave the Divine law alone to operate upon the consciences of men.' ‡ In our controversy with the Romanists, it is both just and necessary to distinguish between the legislative acts and the dogmatic decisions of their Church; more especially when Episcopalians make a similar distinction between their own articles of faith and the canons and constitutions still unrepealed, though for the most part fallen into desuetude. After making every due and requisite distinction and allowance, enough remains in the received and acknowledged doctrines of the Romish Church, to justify, not hatred and persecution of its members, but the

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most uncompromising opposition to its insidious and perilous perversion of the Christian faith and institutions. But we shall never succeed in weaning the Roman Catholic from his errors, by imputing to him what he does not hold, or by confuting doctrines which he disclaims.

It is surely a great point gained, when, in their popular tracts, Roman Catholics sanction a direct appeal, although it be for the purpose of defending error, to the ultimate rule of faith,—the Holy Scriptures. It is true, that every Catholic will be apt to receive the gloss as of the same authority with the text, and to be confirmed in his opinions by false Scripture. But now that the Scriptures are becoming so generally accessible, it will be found more and more difficult to mislead and fetter the minds of the people by partial and erroneous citations, while sanctioning a deference to the paramount authority of the Word of God. "It is written," was an argument used by the Tempter. "It is written again," was the reply by which he was confounded. Popery, finding itself hard pressed, takes to the letter of Scripture as its stronghold. From this, its last retreat, it must be driven by the general prevalence of those sound principles of Biblical exegesis and criticism, which Protestants themselves have hitherto been slow to adopt, and before which other forms of error besides Popery are destined to give way.

We should be glad to see a refutation of the errors of Popery, that would fairly grapple with them on the ground chosen by the more respectable modern apologists for the Romish faith, and taking their doctrines according to their own shewing. Protestants have been accustomed to deal with Papists too much as political enemies; and, as Dr. Chalmers remarked of the Catholic disabilities, what 'were intended as a line of circumvallation 'around the strongholds of the Protestant faith, in effect have 'been a line of circumvallation around the strongholds of the 'Catholic faith.' The exactions and oppressions which the English and Irish Catholics have endured, have closed every avenue to the truth in their minds; and the theological reasons assigned for excluding them from political privileges, have served but to create political prejudices against theological verities. Among other erroneous opinions entertained respecting the Catholic religion, exposed by the Author of the 'Remarks', is that which relates to the supposed incompatibility of that religion with civil freedom. This notion is combated with considerable force; and our readers will at all events be pleased with the Writer's sound notions of religious liberty.

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'The Catholic religion does not in its tenets meddle with forms of Government, and it is unjust to charge it with being inimical to civil liberty. Sir Robert Filmer, in his *Patriarcha*, written in praise of absolute monarchy, directs all his arguments against Catholic writers,

and charges them with being favourable to republican principles: it is therefore hard to be found fault with in both ways. The argument from facts will appear in favour of the Catholic. Let any one extract from our Constitution what is of Catholic origin; our common law, including the trial by jury, and the law of treason, the internal government of our counties, (where the Sheriffs and the Justices of the Peace were elected till the time of Edward the second,) and our representative system,—and he will see how little remains to the Protestant's share beyond some statutes to enforce the execution of pre-existing laws; and let him consider whether, if we had not been in possession of those rights and privileges before the Reformation, we should have had much chance of obtaining them since. Let him say what was done in favour of liberty when the Protestant religion was in the glow of its zeal, in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth, and James I. If we look to other countries, we find that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, which were limited monarchies in Catholic times, are now absolute; and that nothing has been done in favour of their subjects by any sovereign in Germany who embraced the Reformation. All the Italian Republics were Catholic; the most democratic Cantons in Switzerland, which have in our days been the most strenuous defenders of their liberties, are so. St. Marino is so, and Genoa and Ragusa would still be free, if we had not aided in preventing it. Protestants in the great Catholic States have been completely restored to all civil rights; and if it be true that the influence of the Catholic clergy is so great, we must infer that they have been liberal on those occasions, nor have we heard that they offered any opposition to these concessions: it would undoubtedly be very desirable for the Catholic here to experience the same liberality or forbearance.

‘ But, notwithstanding this argument from facts, in which the balance appears to be in favour of the Catholic, it would be both unjust and absurd to attribute a predilection to despotic sway to any description of Christians: all take different parts according to circumstances and events, independently of their religious tenets. We believe that the love of liberty is planted in every cultivated mind and every honest breast; for who likes oppression when it is brought home? If the Catholic, in the time of the Stuarts, was more favourable to monarchy, it was because he was so oppressed by the laws enacted by the popular party, that absolute monarchy would, to him, have been comparative freedom. Every description of Christians, if they follow the precepts they are taught, will be good themselves, and just and charitable to others. Our Saviour has expressly distinguished the civil power from the duties of religion, by declaring that his kingdom is not of this world, and by giving this distinction the force of precept, ordering us to give to Cæsar what is his due, and to God what appertains to him. And it is very clear that the Christian religion itself is based, in fact, on the principle of religious liberty; for if religious liberty is not a civil right, then were all the persecutions of the first Christians morally justifiable, and the Christians were bad subjects. Every class of Christians may therefore consistently and without scruple maintain, that the right of every individual to religious liberty should be un-

shackled by worldly power;—and every Government should consider that it has not the power to alter the mind of an individual, and make him believe or disbelieve any tenet, as he himself has not that control over it, and that to require that which is impossible must be an unjustifiable act of tyranny.'

'The exclusiveness of our doctrine!' exclaims the late Dr. Doyle,—'where has this produced disturbance and confusion under just and equal laws? Is it in Hungary, is it throughout Germany, is it in Switzerland, is it in France, is it in Canada, is it in Maryland, is it in the dominions of the King of Prussia, or of Hanover, or in any of those States where civil and religious liberty are established? No; *it is a dominant creed*, no matter of what sect or Church, when conflicting with a people, which produces disorder, penalties, and crime. Only take away restrictions from religious belief,—let no man suffer on account of his faith, and you extinguish in those who are exalted, pride with a spirit of domination; and you take from the more humble the zeal of suffering for justice sake; you also remove from prejudice and passion the very food on which they live, and convert numberless hypocrites into sincere Christians.'* These are just sentiments, come they from what quarter they may; nor ought it to be forgotten, that the founder of the first colony which offered an asylum to the persecuted of all persuasions, with a full equality of civil rights, was an Irish Roman Catholic nobleman. In an age of bigotry, Lord Baltimore was distinguished by his liberal opinions; and though a member of the most intolerant church, was the steady friend of religious freedom, while the Puritans of New England, and the Episcopalians of Virginia, were exhibiting the sad spectacle of mutual intolerance.

Art. II. *Memoir of the late Rev. Joseph Hughes, A.M., one of the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society.* By John Leifchild. 8vo, pp. xx., 498. London, 1835.

OF an individual who, during between twenty and thirty years, occupied so prominent a situation in the religious world as one of the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society,—an institution with which his existence seemed identified, and in the origination of which he had a very principal share,—the public will naturally have looked for some biographical memorial; and the perusal of this volume will leave an impression on the mind of every reader, that the office of friendship could not have been committed to more judicious hands. A narrative, written

* Doyle on the Catholic Claims, p. 202.

by himself, extending through the first fifteen years of his life, and which was found among Mr. Hughes's papers, together with the letters interspersed through the volume, imparts to the memoir, to a certain extent, the interest of auto-biography. It has been, Mr. Leifchild says, his aim, 'to make the deceased speak as much 'as possible through the medium of his own writings,' and to afford by this means 'those glimpses of his interior character to which the outward events of his life were chiefly indebted for their importance, as leading to or resulting from its formation.' Religious biography must always derive its chief interest from the portraiture of character, and the development of its internal structure. At the same time, there are particulars relating to the history of religious bodies, and the interior state of society, minute but very material and instructive facts, for the knowledge and preservation of which we are almost entirely indebted to the records of the biographer.

Joseph Hughes was born in London, Jan. 1, 1769. His father was a native of Wales, his mother of Lancaster. Their circumstances were humble, but they experienced and exemplified the scriptural axiom, that "godliness with contentment is great gain." They were attendants upon the ministry of the celebrated George Whitfield, in Tottenham Court Chapel. Six of their children had died before the birth of Joseph, who seemed likely to follow them; but, by the timely expedient of placing him under the care of a nurse on Enfield Chase, his constitution was invigorated, though he seems to have continued delicate; and this physical feebleness no doubt contributed to give to his manners in childhood, that unnatural gravity which seems to have been injuriously cherished as a supposed indication of a wisdom and seriousness above his years. We must transcribe Mr. Leifchild's judicious remarks upon this subject.

'When the shew of religious sentiment is both exuberant and precocious, special care should be taken by christian instructors lest forms should be substituted for principles; lest the beautiful simplicity of a tender age should be corrupted by an unnatural austerity, and the pupil be tempted by the desire of applause to pursue a forced and feigned course, too likely to issue in an abandonment, in riper years, of all that was good along with what was evil, in the professions of early life. . . . It was well for Joseph Hughes that he escaped the dangers attendant both upon that stimulation of the religious emotions to which he was so early subjected and the chilling influence of an unseemly gravity. . . . He was himself, in after life, deeply sensible of the pernicious influences to which he had been exposed, and of the perils which, by the grace of God, he escaped even in childhood.'

pp. 11, 12.

His early piety, though not in proportion to his seriousness of manner and meditative taste, appears to have been genuine; and

'the seed of divine truth,' to use his own words, 'sown by a father's hand with so much care, and watched over by his eye with such fond expectation,' had taken root in his heart, so as to counteract in a great measure the injurious tendency of the fond admiration bestowed upon his precocious displays. 'My prevailing judgement is,' says Mr. Hughes, in reviewing these circumstances towards the close of his life, 'that God did thus early set upon me indelible marks of merciful appropriation.' His father did not live to witness the result. He died in 1779, when Joseph had scarcely reached his tenth year, leaving his widow with a dependent family of five children. A short time before his decease, Joseph had left home, in order to be placed as a pupil in the family of Mr. Smalley, minister of a Presbyterian congregation at Darwen in Lancashire. He was met by Mr. Smalley at Manchester, who accosted him by saying: 'Joseph, you have lost one father; you shall find in me *another*.' Kind words, implying, however, much more than he was qualified or able to fulfil. Mr. Smalley was a well educated, amiable, and well-meaning man; but he belonged to that class of Presbyterians who may be placed at the extreme verge of spiritual vegetation, in the frigid zone of Christianity. 'As a theologian, he belonged to the school of Doddridge, or rather of Job Orton; but, in consequence of his intimacy with Dr. Barnes of Manchester, and men of a similar stamp, the Independents of the county all but adjudged him to the class of Arians.' To one practice of my 'otherwise exemplary tutor,' says Mr. Hughes, 'I can never refer without regret; that of reading the newspapers during the interval between the morning and afternoon services of the Sabbath, as well as after tea in the evening! And he gives an affecting account of the state of this minister's family at that period.

"Beneath his own roof he had little to cheer him. His daughter died at mature age; his sons imitated none of his better qualities. The younger fell into intemperate habits, from which I fear he never recovered; thus imitating his unhappy mother, and taking advantage of his father's resemblance to the lamented, though venerated Eli. His eldest son, a youth of imposing appearance and promising abilities, entered the Daventry Academy, of which the excellent Mr. Robins conducted the theological department. In devoting a son, not vicious perhaps, but apparently *unrenewed*, to the sacred office, my venerated tutor fell into a practice lamentably common in every Christian land, and which had crept into the class of Protestant Dissenters. The consequence in this case might be held up as a terrific warning. He was disappointed not only in his son, but, if I mistake not, in almost every candidate for the ministry, who sought and obtained his patronage." pp. 17, 18.

Young Hughes remained at Darwen not quite two years! His literary progress under the tuition of Mr. Smalley was inconsiderable; and it is not surprising that in his religious feelings he de-

generated. Towards the close of 1780, Mr. Smalley's increasing infirmities incapacitating him for the exertions of a tutor, he was transferred to the Free School at Rivington in the same county, then under a Mr. Norcross. This pedagogue was the precise reverse of his first tutor,—rigorous, vehement, and melancholic; and the circumstances in which young Hughes was here placed, were not more favourable to his moral and religious improvement than they had been at Darwen. He boarded in the house of one Jonathan Kershaw, a Presbyterian, who had an Episcopalian for his wife, and a Quaker for his only son!! Several of the scholars were his fellow inmates.

“Neither the chapel belonging to the establishment,” continues Mr. Hughes's own narrative, “nor that belonging to the Dissenters, was favoured with an evangelical ministry; spiritual death reigned in our family, and in all the surrounding families, with slight exceptions. To be a Christian indeed, subjected to the charge of methodism; and to incur that charge was to be branded as a compost of hypocrisy and folly. At the distance of two miles lived and preached Mr. Redmayne, quite high enough as a Calvinist, and observably illiterate. My mother, when visiting the neighbourhood, heard him, and so far approved his discourses, as well as the stream of his conversation and acknowledged character, as to recommend my going to his chapel. But I found that he was stigmatized, and it was seldom that I resorted to his chapel”.*

Nothing could well be more unfavourable to the growth of piety, than the circumstances in which young Hughes was here placed. ‘I witnessed,’ he says, ‘as vile and mischievous profligacy as I had done at Darwen.’ ‘No ascendant spirit stood near in the form of an associate, to open and recommend a high moral course.’ The literary advantages of the school were also ‘greatly circumscribed.’ On arriving at the last year of his continuance at school, he exhibited, to use his own words, ‘a mass of inconsistencies,—a character that might well have given rise to opposite prognostications. Humanly speaking, deliverance or destruction depended on the scenes and connexions with which I was *thenceforward* to be familiar.’ How many thousands of amiable, well-disposed, and promising youths are continually being destroyed by what is called Education,—which means, a process by which a little Latin and Greek are acquired, at the cost of moral contamination, the hardening of the conscience, and the deadening of the best sensibilities of the youthful heart.

In the summer of 1784, young Hughes returned to London after an absence of six years; and he found that the friends who

* Independent ministers in that county were then comparatively few, and fewer still were academically educated. The present number of Independent congregations in Lancashire is upwards of ninety.

had patronised him had already considered it as a settled point, that he was to devote himself to the Christian ministry. 'Too much reliance had been placed by them on early appearances; and it was felt by him, that a grievous disappointment would be inflicted upon them, were he to decide upon a secular profession.' Ill chosen as had been the tutelage and training to which he had been consigned, it would seem that this education was bestowed upon him with a special view to his becoming a minister. Mr. Hughes was probably aware of this; for we find him, while at school, uniting with a class-mate in composing a sermon. It may be that a knowledge of the intentions of his friends operated beneficially as a moral restraint. It is evident too, that he never cast off the fear of God, and that his conscience was even scrupulously tender, although he had little or no pleasure in religious services, religion not having taken hold of his affections. In acceding, however, to the wishes and plans of others, he was not, he says, thwarting his own. Yet was he 'lamentably deficient in those high-toned principles and strong emotions which became' his 'situation and prospects'.

"Human influence, it is to be feared, wrought on me more than that which is divine. Into the religious sentiments I then embraced, and which I have never in the main forsaken, I glided imperceptibly and without a conflict. My mind was ductile, and might, in another connexion, have glided into opposite sentiments, having up to that period been almost a stranger to the points mooted among theologians, though perhaps preserving an obscure relish for the strain to which I was accustomed from my earliest years."

This ingenuous confession, it must be recollected, is the decision of Mr. Hughes's severe and rigorous judgement in riper years. 'It is not to be supposed,' his Biographer remarks, 'from the high-toned piety and shrewd discernment of the parties to whose judgement his case was submitted, that they would unanimously have decided in favour of the future course he was to pursue, had there not been about him undoubted marks of genuine piety, uprightness of intention, and determination to excel.' We are ready to admit this in the case of Mr. Hughes, injudicious as was the conduct of these friends; but it is certain that parties as pious and as discerning have often made great mistakes in encouraging the chosen objects of their patronage to enter the ministry, unwilling to have their designs frustrated, or to abandon the hopes raised by the individual, when an impartial judgement would have led to an opposite decision. A young man who finds himself destined by his friends for the sacred profession, with no other course open to him, is placed in circumstances of a very trying nature. If he is of an easy temper, there is no small danger of his assuming his own fitness for the office, or, if he has any scruples on that head, of his throwing off the responsibility

upon his advisers, and becoming the professional religionist in his feelings. If he be of a more independent and aspiring mind, he may revolt against the service to which he is compelled to devote himself, as intolerable drudgery. Too many individuals have been driven into the ministry by circumstances, who might seem to have made choice of it. On the other hand, the anxiety to guard against this evil, may have led parents into the opposite extreme, of not shaping the education of their children with any view to their future course of life, and suffering it to be determined by chance what profession or trade they may afterwards fall into. Surely education ought not to be without design, although the result ought to be viewed as contingent. In Mr. Hughes's case, the double mistake seems to have been committed, of predetermining his future profession, and educating him into unfitness for it. Happily, his early impressions were never obliterated, and a special Providence watched over the widow's son. 'God did not utterly forsake me at Rivington,' is his pious remark; and to the secret tuition of the Divine Spirit, the preservation of the spark that had been kindled in his infant mind, must be attributed.

Mr. Hughes's father, though a member of Tottenham-court chapel, was a Baptist in judgement; and his mother was a member of the church in Eagle-street, then under the pastoral care of Dr. Gifford. 'I am not sure,' he says, 'that I was provided with more solid reasons for joining a similar connexion.' He was baptized by his friend and patron, Dr. Stennett, pastor of the Baptist church in Little Wild Street, and 'a Sabbatarian close-communionist.' An interesting portrait of this truly good man is supplied by Mr. Hughes himself.

'He had received a respectable education, and was, I believe, the completest gentleman in the whole denomination of Baptists. Indeed, his manners were courtly, a kind of heir-loom well conveyed from his father and grandfather, who had moved more than himself within the precincts of royalty. The effects of the French revolution on the minds of many warm theorists in England excited his apprehensions and displeasure; especially when he traced them in the circle of those whom he had been accustomed to regard as Christian friends. His congregation was rather select than numerous. His sermons, which he usually read, were judicious, clear, unaffected, and practically evangelical; while his soft and for the most part plaintive delivery exemplified Quintilian's *cantus obscurior* in a way which added much to the interest of all that he uttered.

'He resided, during the latter part of his life, at Muswell Hill, where his friends, in succession, formed many an admiring and delightful levee, welcomed by one who was uniformly hospitable, pious, and entertaining. Among his frequent guests, was the celebrated John Howard, whom I have often seen in attendance on his ministry, and with whom I should have often been a fellow communicant, had the church in Wild Street admitted Pædobaptists to the sacramental

table. The texture of Dr. Stennett's understanding, like that of his heart, was sound. But he might have said,

*"Sectantem lenia nervi
Deficiunt animique."*

"He had but a modicum of imagination, nor did he pretend to be original or profound. Yet what he published on 'Personal Religion,' and on 'The Parable of the Sower,' affords a specimen of talents adapted to convey sacred instructions in a correct, neat, and engaging style. On the whole, he eminently adorned his profession, and when he died, left a chasm in the connection which has never been filled up.

"He belonged to the Trust founded by Dr. John Ward, formerly one of the Gresham College Professors, who bequeathed a sum for the maintenance and education of two persons, chosen, not exclusively, but by preference, from among the Baptists, and who were to be taught, if requisite, first in some English seminary; ultimately, however, in a northern college, and to be succeeded from time to time by the same number, according as suitable candidates might apply. The determination might be to the pursuits either of a preacher or a tutor. Provision is made in the will for continuing to the students, the first year after completing their studies, the allowance assigned any one year previously." pp. 33—35.

By the advice and influence of his friends, Mr. Hughes, in the course of a few months after his public profession of religion, was placed as a theological student, upon Dr. Ward's trust, in the Baptist Academy at Broadmead, Bristol, then under the presidency of Dr. Caleb Evans. That academy, notwithstanding the high respectability of the tutors*, was at that time and for many years afterwards, deficient, both in its literary and its theological departments, in system and in stimulants.

"Slender," says Mr. Hughes, "as was my own stock of erudition upon joining the academic groupe at Bristol, I found only two individuals, during a three years' residence, whose classical attainments were superior to my own. This had the unhappy effect of slackening my application, so that I quitted the place without any material improvement. Not having completed my sixteenth year at the commencement of my course, and having been little conversant with men calculated to unfold and invigorate the intellect, I could not but exhibit and feel a mortifying disparity between myself and the majority of my new associates. The freedom and fullness, in particular, which marked the devotional addresses of Mr. Hinton, when taking his turn at family prayer, astonished and at the same time depressed me. My embarrassment on those occasions was generally apparent and most grievous. To any thing in the shape of a disquisition I was con-

* Before quitting Bristol for Scotland, Mr. Hughes enjoyed the advantage of hearing, as Dr. Evans's assistant in the ministry, Robert Hall, who also took part in the tuition of the students. See *Eclectic Review*, Vol. IX., 3d Series, p. 194.

sciously unequal; and my themes indicated a common and barren mind. I was, however, just capable of relishing bold and beautiful sentiments, though apt to confound a gaudy with a good style. In consequence of being so much younger than the majority of those around me, I was rarely complimented with the kind notice which invites a person to take part in a critical conference, though it were the humble part of a mere listener. Hinton and Kinghorn were men in age and in understanding, while in both I was but a boy." pp. 39, 40.

And a boy who peculiarly stood in need of fostering encouragement, to invigorate and develop the powers he actually possessed.

The autobiographical sketch which Mr. Hughes left behind him, terminates at this point; and the chief materials of the ensuing narrative have been derived from letters and a miscellaneous diary in which he recorded most of the engagements and important occurrences of his life. In Oct. 1787, he left Bristol for Aberdeen, to prosecute his studies in King's College, where Robert Hall had completed his education, and taken his degree of master of arts, three years before. Mr. Hughes's conduct during the whole period of his residence in Scotland, appears to have been in the highest degree consistent and exemplary; and though humiliating confessions of neglect and idleness occur in his journal, they are disproved by the registry of the authors he read, and the severity of the rules by which he bound himself. For the pursuits of mathematical science, he had no taste; but, for the beauties of Greek and Roman literature, he had a keen relish, and he continued through life to retain his fondness for the ancient classics, especially the philosophical works of Cicero. To this circumstance may be ascribed, in part, that 'fastidiousness of diction' for which he afterwards became so remarkable. The minute attention which he evinced, from this early period, to accuracy and propriety of expression, characterised his later efforts; and often led him to sacrifice perspicuity and force to the elegant indirectness which he had learned from the Roman orator.

Whether from 'the slenderness of his means, from previous habits, or from a conscientious feeling,' does not appear, but Mr. Hughes is stated to have practised at Aberdeen an abstemiousness in his diet, which operated injuriously on his health and the tone of his mind. A spirit of dejection pervades his diary; and it would seem that he felt discouraged at finding himself continually thwarted or unsuccessful in his resolutions and attempts to arrive at eminence, or to realize his own ideas of excellence. In April 1789, he re-visited England. On the voyage, notwithstanding sea-sickness, we find him engaged on board in preaching to some soldiers and the crew, and in reading to the passengers. During his stay in the metropolis, he first

heard the Rev. Mr. Jay, of Bath, then a very young man, and 'became so enamoured' of his preaching, as to attend exclusively upon his ministry during the term of Mr. Jay's residence in London. In company with his friend Mr. Holloway, the engraver, Mr. Hughes visited a Sunday-school while he was in England, and was so struck with the scene, that he resolved to form something like it upon his return to the North. Nor had he been long in Aberdeen before he put in practice this resolution. He gathered a group of children, formed rules for their instruction on the Sabbath, and indefatigably persevered in acting upon them. Along with the children, whose numbers continually increased, the parents were invited to attend, and strangers were admitted as visitors.

'These increased at length to the number of between two and three hundred; and a kind of sermon was addressed to the whole, generally by our friend, at the close of the school. The spectacle was so far novel at that time and place as to excite marked attention. Whispers were circulated respecting him and his motives, for this imagined assumption in the introduction of new modes of usefulness. Some insinuated that he was secretly paid for his labour; in reference to which he says: "Blessed be God, I can imprecate ruin upon myself, if I ever once thought of pecuniary advantage. Let my labour be as free as the Gospel?" It was the very motto he adopted afterwards for his conduct on a much larger and more splendid scale. So tenacious was he at this time of this principle, that, when one of the poor mothers of the children offered him, from the overflowing gratitude of her heart, a few peats as a recompense, he persisted, to her great pain and mortification, in the steadfast refusal. Indeed, his own savings appear to have been devoted to the purchase of books for the use of his scholars. . . . His farewell of the children for the recess was accompanied with lamentation and weeping on the part both of them and their parents, and, on his own, with grateful thanksgivings and tender regrets.' pp. 73, 4.

This benevolent and disinterested effort on the part of the young student, must be viewed as a very characteristic indication of the qualities by which Mr. Hughes was afterwards to be distinguished: a quiet zeal, steady perseverance, condescension to the young, kindness to the poor, and unimpeachable purity of motive in his labours of love, were prominent traits in his character. In March, 1790, Mr. Hughes took his degree of M.A. He remained at Aberdeen till the close of the autumn, and then proceeded to Edinburgh, where he spent a session. He subsequently returned to Aberdeen, where he had formed some strong attachments of friendship, and remained there for five months. In 1791, he returned to London, and, after preaching 'a trial sermon' before the pastor and members of the church at Wild Street, was unanimously 'called to the work of the ministry,'

agreeably to the custom of the denomination to which he belonged. Not many months afterwards, a vacancy occurred in the office of classical tutor in the Broadmead Academy; and, young as he was, Mr. Hughes was invited to fill that responsible station. He accepted it, but apparently as only a temporary arrangement. In a letter written soon after his arrival at Bristol, he says:—

“The unsettled state of affairs at Bristol called me away sooner than I either wished or expected. Scarcely had I seen my friends, when I was snatched from their society. . . . I am quite ignorant as to the time I may stay here. One thing I can say, that I never sought the situation for myself, nor commissioned or encouraged friends to do so for me. God has led me hither by his providence; here would I remain while he sees fit; hence would I cheerfully remove at his command.” pp. 108, 9.

Dr. Evans died in the following August; and Mr. Hughes, besides discharging his office as tutor, continued to occupy the pulpit at Broadmead during the remainder of that year and nearly the whole of the next. In Dec. 1792, he received and accepted an invitation to become assistant minister to the Rev. J. Ryland, who had just been chosen to take the pastoral charge of the Broadmead church. Shortly afterwards, he married the lady to whom he had been long attached, and who survives as his widow. His residence at Bristol was not destined, however, to be permanent. In 1794, in consequence of a difference which appears to have arisen between Mr. Ryland and himself, the effect of jealousies for which their relative position and want of congeniality of taste may easily account, Mr. Hughes found himself unjustly and treacherously displaced from both the offices he held. ‘A ‘petty misunderstanding,’ he says to a correspondent, ‘such as a ‘five minutes’ interview between Mr. Ryland and myself might ‘have cleared up, has occasioned my removal.’ The pen of his friend and one of his first pupils, the Rev. John Foster, author of the “Essays,” has supplied the following recollections of his preaching and mental characteristics at this period of his life.

“He had great mental activity, quickness of apprehension, and discriminate perception. He had considerable ambition of intellectual superiority, but less, I think, for any purpose of ostentation than for the pleasure of mental liberty and power. He was apt, like other young men, to be somewhat dazzled by the magniloquent style in writing, but at the same time always justly appreciated plain good sense, whether in books, sermons, or conversation. A defect of simplicity and obvious *directness* in his own writing and preaching, was, I think, not a little owing to his admiration at the time in question (and I suppose an earlier one) of certain writers of the eloquent class whose style was somewhat stilted—too artificial and rhetorical. His preaching, as a young man, was often very animated, rather unmethodical and diffuse, and extremely rapid; in this last respect in perfect con-

trast to his pulpit exercises towards the close of life. His temperament was what is called mercurial ;—lively, hasty, earnest, versatile, and variable. He was kind and candid, yielding the sympathies of friendship, warm in its feelings, and prompt in its appropriate offices ; free from acrimonious and resentful feelings, and from those minor perversities of temper or whim, which, without being regarded as great faults, are very annoying in social life. There is nothing I retain a stronger impression of, than the proofs he habitually manifested of a sincere and firmly established piety, which so attempered his youthful vivacity, as to restrain it in its gayest indulgencies and sallies from degenerating into an irreligious, or in any other way offensive levity. I can remember, that in hours when we gave the greatest social indulgence to our youthful spirits, he would fall on serious observations and reflections, in the unforced and easy manner which indicated the prevalence of serious interest in his mind. The hold which the great and vital principles of religion had upon him, was not slackened by his indecision, his incompleteness of theological system respecting secondary points of doctrine. His public discourses were too little in obvious and studied conformity to any established model, to be acceptable to a considerable portion of his hearers. In addition, his voice would sometimes, independently of his will, and almost of his consciousness, take and retain through the whole service a pitch above its natural tone. But I think that he was oftener in possession of his natural voice.” pp. 145—147.

From Bristol, Mr. Hughes removed, in July 1796, to the village of Battersea, near London, having accepted an invitation to become the minister of the chapel there, with a salary, contributed chiefly by the liberality of the proprietors of the edifice, which exceeded what he had derived from both his offices at Bristol. Here he continued till death. The situation was in many respects happily adapted to him. It brought him into contact and familiar intercourse with many valued and eminent friends, capable of appreciating his excellence ; and it favoured his gradual advance into those more public stations in which his zeal and his talents found the widest scope for usefulness. Among other advantages, it led to a renewal of his acquaintance with Mr. Wilberforce, who then resided at Clapham, and whose warm friendship he continued to enjoy unabated to the end of their lives. ‘A few weeks only separated them in their ascent to ‘brighter scenes ; Mr. Hughes being confined by his last illness ‘at the time of Mr. Wilberforce’s decease.’

‘It soon became necessary,’ continues his Biographer, ‘to enlarge the place of worship, for the accommodation of more attendants. These were principally of a highly respectable class ; persons capable of appreciating the learning, taste, and elegance of the preacher and the pastor. His preparation at this time for the pulpit was most assiduous. He wrote, to the extent of about eight or ten pages, most of his sermons, and, in rather a careful manner, deposited what he had

written in his memory *. Not, however, without leaving himself at liberty to make alterations of expression, or to pursue any excursion of thought which presented itself at the time of delivery. In composition, he was most fastidious, and has been known to occupy a whole forenoon in modelling and remodelling the first sentence. One who was then a resident under his roof declares, that the changes his composition underwent were sometimes so slight as to be scarcely perceptible, when repeated in its amended form. Still he persevered till he had pleased his own mind; and when this was once done at the commencement, he would proceed, with a rapidity which strikingly contrasted with his former hesitancy, to the close. But though the result was such as to attract select audiences, and obtain for him some reputation as a preacher among the more elevated circles, there was still that want of point, directness, and force, in his public ministrations, that kept him from exerting any influence *on the mass*, and prevented him from ever becoming a favourite with the middle and lower orders.

“ ‘The cause of religion at Battersea,’ says a correspondent, ‘now greatly flourished. His ministry was much blessed at this time and for several years afterwards. He was by far the most popular minister in the vicinity: many from considerable distances attended, and it was thought quite a *treat* by members and hearers of other congregations, to go occasionally to Battersea to hear Mr. Hughes.’ The place was then in its palmy state;—alas! how altered since! Out of the pulpit, he was most assiduously attentive to his auditors; and though he would not, from the general benevolence and amenity of his nature, be guilty of neglecting the poor, yet all his feelings and associations led him greatly to prefer the society and converse of the more refined and educated.’ pp. 166—168.

His active zeal was not, however, to be circumscribed within the narrow circle of his pastoral labours. In 1799, in conjunction with the venerable Mr. Bowden of Tooting, he formed the Surrey Mission Society, the object of which is to supply the neglected villages of the county with Christian instruction, by the instrumentality of itinerant missionaries. In the following year, he assisted in the formation of the Religious Tract Society, of which he was chosen the secretary; an office which he continued to hold till his death, during a period of thirty-four years. The first account of the plan of this admirable society was drawn up by

* He would seem to have deviated, in this respect, from the plan upon which he commenced his public ministry. In a letter written soon after his settling at Bristol, he says: ‘I must just inform you that I make very little use of notes, and find hitherto great freedom in preaching; yet I assure you I am as far from *committing sermons to me* *very* as from reading them. This is a slavish practice—I cannot endure it. Yet I study my subjects as much as if I wrote them, at least some times.’ (p. 107.) It does not appear that his preaching increased in attraction as it became more elaborate.

him, together with an address, in which, Mr. Leifchild remarks, 'there occurs the very principle on which another and still more magnificent institution was subsequently to be built; a principle of conciliation, by way of securing the co-operation of Christians of all denominations in the circulation of pure truth.' Several of the early tracts were also contributed by his pen. At a meeting of a Committee of this Society, on the 7th of December, 1802, the conversation took place which originated the subsequent movements in forming the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Rev. Mr. Charles, of Bala, had been expatiating on the dearth of Bibles in the language of the Principality, and urging upon the attention of the meeting the desirableness of providing a more adequate supply. The thought was suggested—'Surely a society might be formed for the purpose;—and if for Wales, why not also for the empire—for *the world*?' That this thought, expressed nearly in these terms, was first uttered by the lips of Mr. Hughes, is not only in accordance with the general recollection, sanctioned by his own admission; but the minutes of the meeting, revised by himself, record that, *at the suggestion of the Secretary*, the subject was deemed deserving of attention, and was to be taken into consideration at the next meeting. He was accordingly requested by the Chairman to embody his sentiments in a written address, to be read to them at a future meeting specially convened. This address, after receiving some few emendations, was ordered to be printed. It was entitled, "The Excellence of the Holy Scriptures an argument for their more general dispersion at home and abroad;" and was sent forth early in 1803, without a name, and without preface. As containing the seminal principle of the Institution, it might of itself sufficiently establish the claim of the writer to be regarded as the primary instrument of originating it. 'His Essay,' remarks one of the few surviving members of that memorable committee*, 'which he matured with his best powers, became the Appeal, on behalf of the Scriptures, to all who professed to receive them as a Divine Revelation, which at length roused them to a sense of their duty, and brought together agents in fulfilling it which no cause had before been able to combine. The principle indeed had been acknowledged, and to a small extent already acted upon; but, till the Bible Society arose, it was unknown in the world *how far* it is possible for Christians conscientiously to retain their distinctive tenets and titles, while they unite their efforts in discharging a common obligation paramount to them all. No appeal to "*the Churches*," since the days of Inspiration, has, probably, produced co-extensive good. His endurance

* W. Alers Hankey, Esq., in a letter given in the Appendix.

‘ of labour equalled his zeal, and bore him up till the cause triumphed. My judgement bids me declare that Joseph Hughes was the man whom the Head of the Christian Church raised up instrumentally to confer upon it and the world the greatest blessing that these last days have received.’

The first public meeting for the purpose of forming the Society, took place on March 7, 1804, the venerable Granville Sharp in the Chair. The letter from which we take the above extract, contains a highly interesting account of this important meeting, which opened under very discouraging appearances. The business had commenced when the Rev. John Owen entered the room; whether to support or to oppose the undertaking, was not known. He had attended at the persuasion of (we believe) his friend the Rev. Josiah Pratt, and came, as he used pleasantly to say, ‘ to see what you Dissenters were about.’ ‘ It was not till ‘ Steinkopff’ told us, in his affecting manner and broken English, ‘ of the distresses of Germany,’ he said, ‘ that my heart was ‘ moved.’ Then he arose, and, by his natural and powerful eloquence, gave an impulse to the meeting which materially contributed to its successful result. He consented to be associated as joint secretary to the new Institution, with the Baptist minister and the amiable Lutheran clergyman; and never were three colleagues more happily adapted, by their oneness of heart and diversity of gift and temperament, to concur in harmoniously carrying forward the cause to which they so disinterestedly devoted themselves. For nearly twenty years, the three-fold cord remained unbroken.

As we are not tracing the history of that Institution with which Mr. Hughes’s life became henceforth identified, we must very briefly advert to the prominent circumstances of his subsequent career. Early in 1812, the diploma of Doctor of Divinity was transmitted to him from the University of Providence, Rhode Island; and in 1821, the same honour was conferred upon him by Yale College, Connecticut. In both instances, he respectfully but firmly declined the honour, and carefully concealed the fact. In 1822, he was bereaved of his friend and colleague, Mr. Owen, who had, as well as himself, gratuitously laboured in the service of the Society to which they had consecrated their best energies, and which, by its gradually increasing importance and extent, came at length to absorb almost the whole of their time. The difficulty of finding a clergyman, as successor to Mr. Owen, who could make a similar sacrifice, and the injustice of requiring it, led the committee to decide upon annexing a salary to the vacant office; and of course, the three secretaries could but be placed on the same footing. Of Mr. Hughes’s reluctance to accept of any salary, the following private memorandum will furnish the most honourable and satisfactory evidence. It is dated August, 1823.

‘ Memorandum. “ At the last annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that paragraph in the report which recommended that three hundred pounds a year should be paid to each of the secretaries, was received with peculiar marks of approbation.

“ When the proposal to connect a salary with the office was made, at a meeting of the committee several years ago, the secretaries interposed with a strong expression of their desire to have the subject at once and finally dismissed. They did not object to the principle in its general application. But considering that they were numbered with the founders of the society—that they had long served it without a pecuniary recompense—that they had thus preserved both themselves and the cause from imputations which, however unfounded, would probably have been incurred—that their labours brought with them a succession of intense delights—and that the recollection of having been gratuitous agents from the original establishment of such a society to the close of their exertions and their lives would be far more satisfactory than the receipt of the largest emoluments—they felt anxious that a measure in itself correct, expedient, and ultimately indispensable, might not be acted upon till they were called to sleep with their fathers.

“ In agreeing, after the repeated avowal of these sentiments, to accept a salary, I defer, not to my circumstances (which are more than adequate to my wants), nor to my independent feelings (which continue adverse), but to the delicate crisis at which the Society has arrived, and the importunity grounded on that crisis by the Society’s most judicious and impartial friends.

“ In order to prove the sincerity of this statement, to express my gratitude to Him who has manifested so much mercy in my behalf, and to render my life additionally subservient to the welfare of mankind, I *have deliberately resolved to appropriate the whole of what I may receive from this source to the relief of such private cases and the support of such public institutions as shall appear most deserving of my attention and encouragement.*

“ It is also my request to those who may be intrusted with the distribution of my property after my death, that any sum which the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society may owe me on the score of salary, and also of incidental expenses, may be equally divided among the Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, and the Bristol Education Society.

“ May God forgive the defects and the positive evil which his eye discerns in the spirit with which I present the offering, and grant me the ability and the disposition to accomplish without the least reserve, the design which with all humility and gratitude I would thus express, and to which I now subscribe my unworthy name.

“ JOSEPH HUGHES.”

This document requires no comment. His bounty was faithfully, liberally, and unostentatiously distributed: its extent, as his ability increased through the kindness of his friends and his own savings, will never be known. Mr. Hughes, says his brother secretary of the Tract Society, ‘ was not only liberal to his poor

‘brethren, but he was most anxious to save their feelings, and to ‘hide himself from their view. There was a lovely delicacy in ‘his benevolence.’

In 1825—1827 occurred that unhappy controversy relating to the distribution of the Apocryphal books as included in foreign editions of the Scriptures, which threatened at one time to cripple the usefulness of the Bible Society. The open opposition which the Institution had encountered from professed enemies, its secretaries and committee had been prepared for; but now, for the first time, dissonance prevailed at their own Board, and the treachery of false friends was leagued to the unscrupulous violence of public censors. Mr. Hughes speaks of this era in the history of the Society, as ‘dishonoured by a virulent and reckless strain, scarcely ‘paralleled in the annals of modern theological warfare.’ One of the most disinterested and benevolent of men found himself stigmatized by a sanctimonious calumniator as a venal hireling of the Society. The disquietude which he suffered was less, however, on account of any aspersions cast upon his own character, than as these atrocious calumnies might injure the Institution itself. His meekness shone throughout this severe trial, but his firmness was not equal to the occasion, and his health suffered from the long protracted anxiety and agitation which this controversy occasioned.

But the heaviest calamity was yet behind. In 1827, he lost his eldest son, under circumstances the most harrowing to parental feelings. His resignation under this fearful stroke was exemplary, but he never recovered from the effects of it upon his bodily frame.

No immediate indication, however, of any marked alteration in his health preceded the attack which, early in July 1833, arrested his progress in a journey through Wales on account of the Bible Society. A complaint in his right foot, of long continuance, having been painfully aggravated by his movements, suddenly assumed an alarming appearance, and the medical opinions of the case precluded all hope of recovery. After lingering till the 3d of October, during which his patience and heavenly-mindedness were ‘perfected’, he expired at length without a struggle in the sixty-fifth year of his age*.

* The following notice of his decease appeared in the Patriot of Oct. 9th.

‘We have to record in our Paper of this day, the not unexpected removal to his rest, of the universally esteemed co-Secretary to the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Rev. Joseph Hughes. For several weeks he had been languishing under the effects of a topical complaint, which admitted of very slender hope of recovery, except by the doubtful means of a surgical operation, which, in the state of his constitution, threatened to prove fatal. Under these circumstances,

Mr. Leifchild has devoted a concluding chapter to a candid and impartial review of Mr. Hughes's character and writings.

our venerated Friend, with serene fortitude and calm submission, awaited the approach of the appointed time when his change should come. He expired on Thursday evening, (Oct. 3d,) in the 65th year of his age.

To Mr. Hughes, more than to any other individual, the British and Foreign Bible Society owes its origin. That feature of the Institution which constitutes its distinguishing excellency, *the disencumbered simplicity of its object*, by which the plan of combination was rendered practicable to an extent to which no previous plan had ever been carried,—he had the merit of conceiving and embodying in his first suggestion; although he did not venture to anticipate the great national combination and international union which have grown out of his modest scheme, so as to render the British and Foreign Bible Society, with all its affiliated and kindred institutions, the most magnificent enterprise of this or any other age, since apostolic times. Mr. Hughes's original plan received, we believe, some modification from the counsel of the Rev. Josiah Pratt, who acted for a short time with his esteemed friend as provisional secretary, and did not retire till he had obtained the consent of the late Rev. John Owen, to undertake the office. All parties, however, were ever ready to disclaim any merit in founding the Institution, which, in its dimensions and results, so far exceeded all their anticipations as to lead them to recognize a Divine hand, as well in its origin as in its progress, and to say, "Not unto us, but unto thy name give glory." Yet, now that the honoured Father of the Institution is gone beyond the reach of human applause, it seems due to his memory to record, that to his pen was entrusted the drawing up of the original prospectus; and to his catholic spirit, exemplary prudence, conciliatory deportment, amiable disposition, and devout character, the Society has been incalculably indebted for having triumphed over the peculiar difficulties which beset the early years of its existence.

If the Institution did not emanate full-grown from his mind, it harmonized most completely with his character, and he entered so fully into the object as to live in it and for it. For nineteen years he laboured in its service gratuitously, in connexion with his beloved colleagues, Mr. Owen and Dr. Steinkopff. And it is well known that his own interests had no influence in overcoming his reluctance to accept of a salary, when that measure of justice was forced upon his consent. Never was a man more admirably adapted to the peculiar duties of the post he was called to occupy. Platform-speaking, when Mr. Hughes first appeared as the advocate of the infant Society, was a very different thing from what it has since become; and the correct diction, quiet elegance, and often felicitous turns of the Dissenting Secretary's addresses, were listened to with unwonted applause and respect. They contrasted not unpleasingly with Mr. Owen's more impetuous, and dazzling, and irregular sallies. As public meetings

For this, as well as the interesting materials of the appendix, we must refer our readers to the volume itself. We deem it almost needless to repeat the opinion which we have already intimated, and which we are persuaded the public voice will sanction, of the judicious and competent manner in which the much respected Biographer has discharged his office. In the name of all who knew and revered the man of God whose character he has portrayed, we tender him our best thanks for this interesting and instructive memorial.

Art. III.—1. *Umrisse zu Schiller's Lied von der Glocke*
Outlines to Schiller's Song of the Bell. By Moritz Retzsch.
 Forty-three Plates. Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1833.

2. Retzsch's *Outlines to Shakspeare.* Second Series. *Macbeth.*
 Thirteen Plates. Leipzig, 1833.

THOSE of our readers who take any interest in the Arts, may justly charge us with a blameable omission, in not having taken an earlier opportunity of devoting a few paragraphs to a critical examination of the graphic works of Moritz Retzsch; an artist enthusiastically admired by his countrymen, and nearly as popular in foreign countries as in his father-land. If, in this admiration and popularity, there be somewhat, on the one hand, of easy and unenquiring acquiescence, and, on the other, of national prepossession, there will yet remain, after the severest criticism has been applied to these spirited and stimulating productions, an ample justification of the high praise which has been lavished on his illustrations of Goëthe and Schiller: we shall presently assign our reasons for not including in the same category, his designs from Shakspeare. With the view, then, to repairing our omission, we have placed these titles at the head of the present article, as the representatives of his entire works, so far as we have made acquaintance with them; and we shall endeavour, within brief space, to put our readers in possession of a sufficient and intelligible description of the complete series.

have multiplied, and demanded a larger theatre, the palled taste of the public has called for a more stimulating style of address than formerly. But those who can recollect the earlier anniversaries of the Bible Societies, will perhaps incline to think, that they have not been exceeded in genuine interest, and in the hallowed feeling which they excited, by the more crowded anniversaries of subsequent years. To have been identified with such an Institution for nearly thirty years, and to have grown venerable in its service, yet without surviving the physical and mental energies required for usefulness, must be regarded as an enviable distinction.

But, before we enter on this more pleasant part of our task, we must dispose of a piece of criticism that lies awkwardly in our way, though, after all, the fault is very likely to be in our prepossessions, rather than in the thing which has annoyed us. The Editor of the Shakspeare series has suggested a singularly (as we think) ill-judged and inappropriate comparison in the following high-sounding sentence, which would be deprived of half its richness, by transfusion into a different language, and of which the import will be made sufficiently apparent to the English reader by our subsequent comments.

'An Retzsch,' quoth Herr Fleischer, *'als Skizzist, besitzen wir denselben Meister, welchen England in seinem einzigen FLAXMAN ehrt, und beide stehen, gleich unübertroffen, auf der höchsten Stufe dieses Kunstfaches sich in ihrer individuellen Kraft einander gegenüber.'*

This may be all very well from an editorial critic, speaking, by special retainer, through the trumpet of a publisher; but we do not allow in any respect the legitimacy of the comparison; it holds neither in kind nor in degree. We cannot consent for one moment to place Retzsch *'over-against'* Flaxman, inasmuch as they are not only of schools entirely separate, but of very different grades in their respective departments. The distinction would probably be taken as between the romantic and the classic divisions of art; and while Retzsch might be considered as ranging through the various modifications of the domestic and the imaginative, Flaxman would be cited as eminent for the forcible expression of the simple and severe, though not unfrequently touching on sublimity and grace. Such a classification, however, although it may be sufficiently correct for general purposes, is founded on a sort of criticism that is, at best, of indefinite character or of doubtful accuracy, and, in the present instance especially, must be rejected as altogether vague and incomplete. The men, in fact, start from differing points, pursue paths widely diverging, and keep in view objects essentially distinct both in character and elevation. The German is a shrewd observer, and manages with great skill the materials which he has diligently and discriminately collected. How admirable his adaptations are, may be learnt from his *Forgemen* in the *Fridolin*, and his *Monks* at *Ophelia's* grave. These countenances he picked up at the beer-house and the smithy, the fair and the market; but their use and application are his own: with probably no greater alteration of feature than might give the expression of malice, ferocity, or savage glee, he has grafted on physiognomies most vacant and common-place, a character not more original and appalling, than intensely true. Flaxman, on the other hand, applies himself more to generals than to particulars; he rarely individualizes, but, treading in the steps of the great masters of older and bet-

ter days, keeps steadily in sight those loftier elements which constitute, in the creed and terminology of artists, the *beau ideal*; —a phrase of which the affectation is not redeemed by any special felicity of definition or appropriation, though it is now scarcely worth while to disturb what has obtained a universal currency. Although Flaxman has shewn great mastery in the mechanism of expression, still, it is not his strong point: in this particular, the fiends in his Dante, and the fine adaptation of the antique mask in his personification of the Eschylean Eumenides, may be taken as illustrating at once his skill and the limits of his power. Of the ability with which he could manage and carry out to an indefinite extent, materials of extreme simplicity, we have evidence in the ever varying attitudes and positions of the constantly recurring forms of Virgil and Dante,—never violent, never exaggerated, but always maintaining their characteristic severity. In the grouping and distribution of his figures, we know of no modern master who has surpassed him; it was, in fact, here that his peculiar talent was displayed; and we should, if delivering a detailed judgement on his distinctive qualities as an artist, fix on this as his marking excellence. In single and detached forms, he might have successful competitors; but, in relieve, he was unrivalled by any of his own time. On this point, however, we are of course to be considered as only expressing an individual opinion; and we now quit the subject with a reiteration of our protest against all such comparisons as that with which we have just been dealing.

The first, so far as our knowledge extends, and by far the most original of Retzsch's productions, was the series of twenty-six designs from Goëthe's *Faust*. Independently of the great talent manifested in these outlines, the choice of the subject was every way a lucky hit. With all its splendid poetry and, let it be permitted us to add, with all its grossness and impiety, the strange and wayward fancies of that powerful but overpraised drama, were frequently of so subtle and unconsecutive a character, as to elude the skill of the most practised riddle-guessers, and most thoroughly to bewilder the simplicity of common readers. Just when inquisitiveness was at the highest, and expectation at the lowest, Retzsch stepped forward with his practical and luminous comment; presenting with consummate ability, in an intelligible concatenation, the principal scenes and characters of his original, without those enigmatical combinations or those yet more unaccountable incoherencies which seemed to have been flung forth in reckless and mocking mood, to vex the general curiosity. In Goëthe, there is succession with imperfect connexion; in Retzsch, there are, or seem to be, both; and thus, although the designs cannot give form and visibility to the finer indications of the drama, they furnish a sort of clew on which the mass of readers

may be content to hang the *hors d'œuvre* of the original. It is no part of our present business to take up the office of commentators on Goëthe, or we think that we could clear away many of the difficulties which seem to beset his puzzling 'Tragedy,' by a simple reference to some half dozen passages in Falk's memoir, as edited with consummate ability by Mrs. Austin, the very queen of translators; and to his primary design, plainly intimated in his own *Vorspiel*:—the very persons of that prelude, the manager, the poet, and the comic actor, form a sort of explanatory heading to the brilliant medley that follows.

We must not, however, forget that it is no part of our proper business to turn out the contents of Goëthe's 'Walpurgis-sack', and we resume our reference to the Faust as interpreted and expressed by Retzsch. Nothing can exceed the spirit and skill with which he has seized the marking points of the story; nor could even Hogarth go beyond him in the dexterity with which he tells his tale through the medium of the crayon. His conception of the dæmon was a *ben trovato* that Retzsch himself has never since equalled. The hard, sarcastic features, the compact and sinewy frame, and the grotesque touches about the dress, are in admirable harmony; and the changes of expression which pass over the countenance of Mephistopheles, are most skilfully expressed. But we have no wish to be more minute respecting this work, since, with all its talent, it is to be mentioned more in regret than in admiration, as the artist has not avoided either the impiety or the indecency of the original. We pass on to other of Retzsch's productions of more general interest and of unexceptionable execution.

The 'Fridolin', from Schiller's *Gang nach den Eisenhammer*, is a beautiful series of eight plates, which we may venture to describe without undue encroachment on assigned limits. The first represents the interior of a castle with the lady and the 'pious page,' the latter reverently saluting his lady's hand, extended in sign of favour, while the villain 'Jager' eyes 'them askance with jealous leer malign,' and the baron, from the *terre-plein* of an opposite rampart, looks carelessly on. In the next, a bustling and well managed scene, in the outer ward of the castle, of horses, dogs, crossbowmen, and falconers, the huntsman insinuates his 'leprous distilment' into the ear of the baron, a fine knightly figure, whose fierce attitude and stern glance menace fearful visitation to the guiltless page, who is seen, attending his mistress, on the esplanade of a distant tower. The third plate shows the 'Graf', splendidly mounted, at the door of the forge, and two demoniacal-looking wretches greedily listening to his bloody orders.

'The first whom I shall send from home
To greet you and to ask

If ye've obeyed your master well,
 Him seize, and throw in yonder hell ;
 The flaming furnace be his grave ;
 I would not see again the slave.'

On this dark errand Fridolin is despatched ; and the fourth plate represents him taking the orders of his mistress before setting out. The cradle groupe in this design is pleasingly disposed ; the nurse adjusting the drapery is graceful and natural. The countess recommends him to enter a church which stands on his route, and to offer up a prayer for her sick child. The next subject is the interior of the sacred edifice, with the priest at mass, and the young page doing the duty of acolyte. Retzsch excels in church interiors, and this is very good, though not equal to that in *Faust*, with its characteristic decorations and its Albert Durer groupes. The sixth plate is Retzsch's master-piece. The page's pious delay has saved him. Eager to ascertain the success of his machinations, the villain of the tale in the mean time visits the forge, and being the *first* to ask the fatal question, is instantly seized by the workmen and forced into the furnace. Nothing can be finer than this groupe. The overpowering strength with which the brawny ruffians master every limb and every effort of the struggling wretch, is admirably expressed, while the various attitudes and countenances of the standers-by are in perfect keeping with the subject. In the next scene Fridolin arrives, and the savage glee with which the actors in the preceding point to the fearful evidences of their triumph, is forcibly delineated. The last design exhibits the baron introducing to his wife the unharmed page. Great, however, as are the excellences of this series, and expressively as the story may be told, there are some obvious defects which may also be traced, more or less distinctly, through the other works of the same artist. His female countenances are too prevalently insipid, and the same defect frequently extends itself to his young men and his heroes.

Schiller's '*Fight with the Dragon*', as our readers are probably aware, a poetic version of the legend which assigns this knight of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, the victory over an enormous monster, of which the original description answers more to the griffin than to the dragon. The same general criticism will apply to this as to the former series. The story is most distinctly told ; the warrior is, in two or three instances, a noble figure ; in others, he is of a more commonplace character : his drapery and attitude when leaning over a rocky mound, to make himself familiar with the structure of the dragon sleeping in his den, are both natural and spirited in a very high degree. The armour-smith's forge and workshop where the false dragon is in process of construction ; the castle-yard where the knight trains his horse and dogs to the strange conflict ; and the village-scene

where he first hears of the monster's ravages, are all excellently compassed. His dragon we cannot say that we much admire: it has neither grace nor dignity, though it is sufficiently ugly, and quite as good as the average of such inventions. He has, however, only two paws, and is a mere reptile, whereas the original legend gives him four effective claws, and two auxiliary wings, wherewith he made a wondrous flapping as he rushed along. The two council-scenes, where the grand-master first expels the good knight from the order, and then restores him, are full of incident: the repetition of the same figures in the same places, but with the altered attitude and expression suited to the change of circumstances, has a powerful effect of verisimilitude.

The outlines to Schiller's lively effusion—*Pegasus im Joche*—are full of spirit. The bearing of the noble animal under the successive stages of his degradation, is boldly and expressively marked. In the collar, the shafts, the plough, wing-tied or free, even in the 'lowest depths', amid the filth and foul tenantry of a cow-house, the fire of his eye is not quenched, nor do his indignant struggles for freedom cease.

The beautiful and beautifully illustrated 'Song of the Bell', demands from us a sacrifice of space which we are unable to afford. Our article has already grown upon our hands beyond anticipation, and we have matter before us that will not be overlooked. The original is one of those compositions in which Schiller excelled, blending powerful description with emphatic application; he passes through the vicissitudes of domestic and social life, in singular but most skilfully managed accompaniment to the successive processes of bell-casting. Into the deep moral pathos which pervades this noble poem, Retzsch has, in a kindred spirit, as deeply entered; and if any painter should need a lesson in the art of identifying himself with his author, we cannot give him better advice, than in the recommendation to study together these designs and their original.

Successful, however, as Retzsch has been, while illustrating the great poets of his own country, and popular as may be his recent efforts to give express and visible form to the magical combinations of one incomparably greater, we shall not attempt to conceal or modify our opinion, that, in the attempt to grapple with the strength of Shakspeare, he has fairly broken down. Before the majesty of that unrivalled intellect, his genius is rebuked. He displays infinite skill in his scenic management, in the disposition of his groupés, and occasionally in the conception and discrimination of character, but he seems hardly ever to get below the mere surface: he is like a river navigator, feeling for the bottom with a boat-hook, rather than a venturesome seaman heaving the deep-sea-line in the broad ocean. He can master the fantastic *diablerie* of Goëthe, or adapt himself to the vigorous

simplicity and 'material sublime' of Schiller, but he is foiled by the intensity and universality of Shakspeare.

Retzsch has hitherto illustrated only two of the great master's works; Hamlet and Macbeth. The first is, in our opinion, decidedly the best; it presents, on the whole, an interesting series of sketches, with much of vigour and of beauty, drawing freely on the rich resources of art, and, though without ever rising into its higher regions, exhibiting fairly what it is capable of effecting in the hands of a skilful artist. The characters best understood are those of the Queen and Polonius. Perhaps the former has too little of the 'glory of regality' about her: she is somewhat too much of the mere matron, and not enough of the high-born dame, but her characteristic expression is admirably seized and preserved. Retzsch felt that he had not a Lady Macbeth under his pencil, but a weak, misguided woman, amiable amid her frailties, and capable of better feelings, and he has kept throughout to this pervading element. In the closet-scene, her horror at the catastrophe of poor Polonius, so mortally given to eaves-dropping, and so ignominiously spitted as a rat behind the arras, is well discriminated from the awe-struck anxiety with which she watches Hamlet's countenance at the entrance of his father's ghost. Polonius is expressively rendered as a mean-looking, prying, bustling personage, but rather too palpably deficient in gentlemanly aspect and bearing for so courtly an office as that of lord-chamberlain.

The ghost is but an insipid sort of apparition, with nothing spirit-like about him, excepting attenuation of outline, and an indication of misty transparency by the faint marking of objects which a body perfectly opake would entirely intercept. No majesty of port, no loftiness of aspect, none of the fiery sweep or commanding energy of movement and attitude which give such striking effect to Fuseli's wild and original, but very *unshakspearian* ghost, distinguish that unearthly vision as called up by Retzsch. Hamlet himself will hardly pass for a successful personification. 'He's fat and scant of breath'—more fat than beseems a ghost-seer and a prince. His physiognomy lacks significance; it is neither 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,' nor marked with the loftier lines of intellect and feeling. In his general and more quiet movements, he is graceful enough, but his action in the more stirring scenes is languid and ineffective: the fencing match is strangely wanting in energy. Ophelia is a fair representation of the love-sick damsel: if she does not come conspicuously forward, she at least groupes well with more expressive figures. Laertes shews well in his traveller's dress, but he retains it too long; we find him, amid all the various circumstances of his appearance, still in his journeying habiliments, and he fights the sword-play with Hamlet, in boots and spurs. This may seem small criticism, but

it is strictly applicable to Retzsch, much of whose attraction depends upon the dexterous management of his accessories, and who is, to do him justice, usually *point-device* in these matters. In fact, the good points of this work are, with the exceptions we have stated, mainly beauties of detail, and a highly successful handling of subordinate characters. In the most complicated groupings the business is effectively carrying on, while, amid the general movement, individual character is never sacrificed. In the first scene, where the usurper pours the poison upon his sleeping brother, a striking, if not quite legitimate effect is produced by representing all the details of the picture as awakened into preternatural life by that fearful violation of Nature's most sacred law. The unveiled eye of the statue of justice; the spider descending by a long-spun thread upon the butterfly amid the flowers; the grotesque head on the door-post eyeing the murderer askance—these things may not be strictly defensible in the appeal to high and severe principle, but they are wonderfully impressive.

We have already intimated our preference of Retzsch's Hamlet to his Macbeth. In the latter, the hero himself seems but inadequately conceived; and this primary failure is but imperfectly retrieved by success in other instances. We are aware how difficult it is to give distinct expression to the subtle inflections of character as touched by Shakspeare; but we cannot even say that the first bold and indefinite sketch is adequately given by Retzsch. The Scottish chief, brave, able, and ambitious, of high military bearing, dignified, yet courteous in demeanour, is made, in these *Outlines*, to enact the part of a melodramatic hero, striding, starting, staring in the most approved attitudes of stage prescription. His posture and the disposition of his drapery in the dagger-scene are affectedly theatrical; and in the chamber, while sternly grappling with the dying king, his hair stands systematically erect around his scared countenance, like the horrent snakes of Medusa's head, or the sun's gilt rays on a sign-board. His kingly figure in the closing exhibitions is better, and the last fight is full of spirit and energy, though we do not quite understand the spectrology of the picture: indeed, the immaterialism of Retzsch does not seem in these sketches to be particularly good;—the bawling goblins, whether *lares*, *larvæ*, or *lemures*, in the assassination scene, are but an awkward attempt to give bodily shape to sounds and sensations. The effort may be courageous, and the execution ingenious, but the mysterious and the appalling have melted away in the process.

Neither has Retzsch succeeded, to our mind, in his portraiture of Macbeth's imperious dame. She is represented as a well-draped, lady-like sort of dame, somewhat insipid in countenance, and neither in action nor in expression exhibiting any of that de-

cided and commanding character so fearfully brought out in the original. In truth, the artist seems to have shrunk from a resolute encounter with this difficult part of his subject, and to have passed by some of the most interesting situations, and best adapted for the crayon: those, for instance, where Lady Macbeth gives to her husband the first dark suggestion of her bloody purpose—‘*and when goes hence?*’ and where she taunts him with his irresolution—‘*infirm of purpose!*’ He has, indeed, attempted the sleep-walking scene, but altogether without success: the side view of a figure with staring eye, flowing drapery, unbound hair, and an attitude which is neither striding, sliding, nor starting, but an unmeaning compound of all three, gives no idea of that terrible personification of dream-haunted guilt.

The witches are more like Thessalian *sagæ* than the hell-bought beldames of Scottish sorcery. They have been at pains with their toilet, and their garments float in classic style, ‘mocking the air with idle state,’ or hang in monumental folds. They are draped and attitudinized for effect; the enchantresses of a ballet, not the ‘foul and midnight hags’ of Shakspeare. Some of their appendages, however, are ably managed: in the incantation scene, the general disturbance among the hideous shapes and crawling things, the gnomes and imps of Hecate’s cave, at the intrusion of Macbeth, is skilfully worked up: the cat on the witch’s shoulder is in a towering passion. Hecate herself is a failure, an unsuccessful attempt to blend the classical and the romantic.

The assassination of Banquo is a sort of companion to the furnace business in Fridolin. The attitude and action of the ruffian who masters Banquo’s sword-arm are excellent, and scarcely less so that of the murderer who plunges the dagger in the chieftain’s breast.

With a mere reference to the recently published, but not particularly interesting ‘Fancies’ of this spirited Designer, we pass on to a closing remark or two on some of his peculiarities which have not been specially noticed in the preceding criticisms. In his own way, Retzsch is learned: he every now and then exhibits a touch of Durer and Cranach, with an occasional imitation of Spranger and Goltzius, in his skilful adaptations of the garb and grouping of the old German school. The furniture, costume, and domestic habits of the olden time are often introduced with correctness and good effect; and he frequently produces considerable impression by the repetition of a scene either with different persons, or with the same individuals in varied occupation. His action is, in general, good, though in principle theatrical; and his exhibition of his subject shows, as we have already intimated, his admirable tact in telling a story to the eye. But we must quit a subject which has already occupied a larger space than we

had intended, with the expression of a wish, that we may frequently have to greet Moritz Retzsch as a pictorial illustrator of the great poets of his own country:—out of that circle his wand, though not broken, is less potent.

Art. IV.—1. *Memoirs of American Missionaries*. With an Introductory Essay by the Rev. Gavin Struthers. And a Dissertation on the Consolations of a Missionary. By the Rev. Levi Parsons. 18mo. pp. xlvii., 219. Glasgow, 1834.

2. *North American Review*. No. LXXXVII., April, 1835, Article, *Life of G. D. Boardman*.

THE American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized in the year 1810. It owes its origin to four members of the Theological Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts, who, having devoted themselves to the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen, sought advice of their fathers in the ministry as to the best mode of accomplishing their design. This occasioned the appointment of the Board. It was not, however, deemed at all practicable to raise funds in the United States, sufficient to warrant the sending out of these four young men as missionaries without some foreign guarantee. One of the first steps taken by the Board, therefore, was to depute one of them to come to England, to ascertain whether he and his brethren could be supported for a time, if necessary, by the London Missionary Society.

Meanwhile, an effort was made at home by the Board, which met with an unexpected degree of success; and in 1812, five missionaries embarked for India at the expense of the American Churches. They have since been followed by no fewer than EIGHTY preachers of the Gospel, sent out by the same Board, besides physicians, printers, and other assistants. Fifteen distinct missions have been established, including fifty missionary stations; and the total number of labourers, male and female, now in foreign service, and dependent on funds placed at the disposal of the Board, is 235.

The Board is composed of 66 clergymen and laymen, belonging to the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Dutch Reformed Churches in the following proportions: Presbyterians, 31; Congregationalists, 28; Dutch Reformed, 7. The missions class under four heads—the Mediterranean, the East Indies, the Islands of the Pacific, and the North American Indians.

The interesting little collection of memoirs from which we extract these brief details, has been compiled and published under the superintendence of the Missionary Society in connexion with the

Andover Theological Institution. It comprises, besides the Introductory matter, short notices of forty-two missionaries, among whom are several whose names have become familiar to English readers; as Gordon Hall; A. Judson; Samuel Newell; Levi Parsons; Pliny Fisk; Jonas King; Isaac Bird; and the joint Authors of the *Researches in Armenia*. Some of the number have entered into rest; but the greater part are still enduring the burden and heat of the day. The volume is well adapted to awaken feelings of Christian sympathy, and to stimulate to holy emulation; and we cordially recommend it as a very suitable volume for all our vestry libraries.

Our immediate object, however, in the present article, is to introduce to the notice of our readers, a very touching and peculiarly interesting piece of missionary biography not contained in this collection, nor, so far as we are aware, hitherto printed in this country. We are indebted for an account of the volume itself* to an article in the last Number of the *North American Review*; and in the following pages, we shall take the liberty of borrowing very freely from that Article, which, if our limits would permit, we should make no scruple in transferring entire to our pages; feeling assured that our readers would thank us for doing so, and that we should have the free permission of our Contemporary on the other side of the great water.

George Dana Boardman was born at Livermore, Maine, Feb. 8, 1801. His father is a Baptist clergyman, who survives him. He was a feeble and studious boy, ardently devoted to the pursuit of knowledge; sometimes concealing bodily illness in order to get to school, and always securing the esteem of his teachers by his proficiency. At the age of sixteen, he became a teacher in a village school; and at eighteen, he entered the collegiate institution at Waterville in his native State. During his collegiate course, he became truly pious, and under the influence of the Spirit of God, consecrated himself to the service of religion. In July 1820, he was baptized on the public profession of his faith. Not long afterwards, his thoughts and feelings were turned to the subject of missions to the heathen. The condition of the Western Indians at first engaged his meditations; but in 1822, his mind was especially directed, by the death of the Rev. Mr. Colman, to the Burmese Mission; and to his great delight, on offering his services to the Missionary Board, Burmah was assigned to him as the field of his future labours.

In June 1823, Mr. Boardman was sent to the Theological Seminary at Andover, to complete his preparatory qualifications

* Memoir of George Dana Boardman, late Missionary to Burmah. Boston, 1834.

for the work to which he had devoted himself; where he remained, with occasional interruptions, till the Spring of 1825. A young lady of Salem, zealously attached, like himself, to the missionary cause, consented to unite her fortunes to his, and they were married a short time previous to embarking for India. On the 16th of July, they sailed for Calcutta. On arriving there, they found the American mission in Burmah broken up, in consequence of the war then raging between the British and the Burmese, so that it was impossible to proceed at once to their original destination. They accordingly resolved to take up their abode with Mr. and Mrs. Wade, (who had been compelled to seek shelter within British jurisdiction,) at Chitpore, near Calcutta, and there to prosecute the study of the Burmese language till the close of the war. During the twenty months which Mr. Boardman passed in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, besides studying the language, he preached continually to congregations of English residents and English and American sailors; and by communion with elder missionaries of greater experience, prepared himself for his approaching labours. At length, the termination of the war was announced, and the hearts of all the friends to Missions were filled with joy on learning the safety of Dr. Price and Mr. and Mrs. Judson, who had been held prisoners in Ava, and over whose fate, for two years, an impenetrable cloud had rested. It was not, however, till March 1827, that Mr. Boardman found himself able to enter upon his long-cherished enterprise. He met Mr. Judson at Amherst, the newly built capital of the territories ceded to Great Britain by the Burmese emperor at the termination of the war; situated near the mouth of the Martaban river, about twenty-five miles below the city of Maulmein. This place had been surveyed and laid out, under the direction of Mr. Judson, by British engineers; and in an incredibly brief period had become a city of many thousand inhabitants*. 'In India, the building of a house requires but a few 'hours' labour, and the population fluctuates strangely from place 'to place. It is necessary only to make a clearing in the jungle, 'and erect barracks for a few soldiers, and, as water rushes at 'once into hollows scooped in the damp sea-sand, so do the

* If this site had been well chosen, it would be, we believe, the first instance of such good fortune. Calcutta, Madras, and almost every city founded by English colonists, are badly situated; and Amherst would seem not to be an exception, since we find it afterwards stated, that the population was rapidly decreasing, and flowing into Maulmein. There is always a strong presumption against the eligibility of a site not pre-occupied by a native town; and it is dangerous to act in despite of it.

‘swarming natives of India crowd by thousands into the clearing, and create a city.’ On consultation with Mr. Judson and Mr. Wade, it was determined that two mission stations should be commenced; one by Mr. Wade at Amherst, another by Mr. Boardman in Maulmein, between which Mr. Judson was to divide his care. Mr. and Mrs. Boardman accordingly proceeded, on the 28th of May, to Maulmein, the native population of which was at that time supposed to amount to 20,000. One year before, it was a thick jungle, without an inhabitant! On the western bank of the river which separates the British and Burmese territories, opposite to Maulmein, stands the deserted city of Martaban; now the lurking-place of hordes of robbers, who are continually crossing over at night for the sake of plunder. Mr. Boardman had not been a month at Maulmein, before he received a nocturnal visit from these marauders, who seem to rival the *Decoits* of Bengal in dexterity; and they carried off every portable article of value. After this robbery, a guard of two sepoys was stationed in his house. But they were exposed to other dangers. The silence of midnight was almost constantly broken by the howling of wild beasts; and one evening, Mrs. Wade narrowly escaped being carried off by a tiger, in crossing their little garden.

At Maulmein, Mr. Boardman, who had now acquired a tolerable knowledge of the language, devoted his time to the reception and instruction of those natives who were curious to learn of the foreign teacher what he had come so far to teach. He was continually surrounded by these inquirers. In October, he was joined by Mr. and Mrs. Wade and Mr. Judson, from Amherst, which was fast losing its population. Before the close of the year, two schools, one for each sex, had been established, and two places of worship erected, in which Mr. Wade and Mr. Judson were daily employed either in proclaiming the truths of the Gospel or in distributing tracts. Three native converts were baptized in the course of a few months, and several more were candidates for baptism; so that the labours of the Missionaries were not unattended with success.

On the 8th of March, 1828, Mr. and Mrs. Boardman were threatened with destruction from a new and unanticipated source of danger. Just as they were lighting their evening lamps, they heard ‘the noise of a mighty rushing wind’ approaching, and, on going to the door, discovered that the whole range of hills eastward was enveloped in flames, which, with the roaring sound of a hurricane, rapidly spread through the thick and dry grass and undergrowth of the jungle, toward their bamboo cottage. As the fire flew on the wings of the wind from point to point, it seemed that nothing could rescue the house from its fury. Mr. and Mrs. B. hastily packed up a few valuable articles, and prepared to retreat

from the devouring element. Their regret at being thus driven from their home was accompanied with a fear lest their path should be beset with the tigers, leopards, and other wild beasts, which were expelled from their usual haunts by the flames. The fire continued to advance till within a few feet of the houses, when providentially the wind ceased, and its progress was arrested. 'Thus we are again preserved,' says Mrs. B., 'when no human arm could have saved us!' The feelings of a *husband* were on this occasion associated with the love of a *father*.

Twenty-one days after this occurrence, Mr. and Mrs. Boardman were once more without a home, pilgrims and wanderers. In accordance with the plans adopted by the Missionary Board at home, it was resolved that a new station should be established at Tavoy, the capital of another of the ceded provinces, lying at the head of the peninsula which separates the Bay of Bengal from the Gulf of Siam. To this city, it was deemed advisable to send Mr. Boardman; and as duty seemed to require his consent, he gave it cheerfully, though at no small sacrifice of feeling, as he had become attached to Maulmein and the little band of scholars and converts collected there, and was now, moreover, to be parted from his beloved colleagues. On arriving at Tavoy with Mrs. Boardman and his infant daughter, he was kindly received by Mr. Burney, the British commissioner; and within ten days, he was quietly settled in a new home, and had begun to preach in Burmese to curious crowds of the worshippers of Gaudama Boodha. But it afterwards appeared that he was brought hither by Divine Providence, as an instrument of communicating the glad tidings to a race of outcasts, upon whom even the Burmese themselves look down with contempt, although with very questionable claims to any moral superiority.

Soon after Mr. Boardman was established in Tavoy, he was brought into contact with 'the Karens', a race quite distinct from the inhabitants of the plains, and of whom, hitherto, little or nothing has been known. They are referred to by Col. Symes and other travellers under the name of Carayn or Karians, and have been supposed to be, like the Puharrees of Bengal and the Bheels of Guzerat, an aboriginal race of mountaineers, who have receded before more martial intruders. Recent inquiry has, however, detected among this despised race, the existence of a traditional literature, and the unquestionable traces of ancient civilization; and what is highly remarkable, their traditions would seem, with high probability, to identify them with some scattered portion of the Hebrew family. The existence of two distinct races of Jews in the Indian Peninsula, renders this fact by no means incredible; and the following particulars, which we give on the authority and in the language of the writer in the American Journal, render it

difficult to resist the conviction, that these backwoodsmen of the wild hills of Burmah are indeed a straggling branch of the stem of Israel.

‘ The Karens are a wild and ignorant race of men, scattered in prodigious numbers over all the wilds of Aracan, Burmah, Martaban, Tavoy, Mergui, Siam and other countries. They live in places almost inaccessible to any but themselves and the wild beasts,—differing most essentially from the other inhabitants of the above-named countries, with a peculiar physiognomy, a peculiar language, peculiar mental and moral qualities and characteristics. They had no written language, and of course no literature, until Mr. Wade, one of the missionaries of the American Baptist Board, reduced their language to writing. But they abound in curious traditions, handed down from generation to generation, in the form of both prose and poetry. Amongst other traditional stories is this:—that when some superior being was dispensing written languages and books, to the various nations of the earth, a surly dog came along and drove away the Karens, and carried off their books. Because of their singular habits, their ignorance and want of written language, they are called *Wild-men* by the Burmans. Mr. Boardman supposed that they were atheists,—but incorrectly; for although we find among them few traces of religious belief, it is evident from the tradition just related, and from the discoveries of Mr. Mason, a missionary now amongst them, that they have a tolerably clear conception of a Supreme Being. They are not, however, idolaters. Their simplicity of life may be learned from the short inventory of the chattels and personal property which constitute their domestic wealth. These are, a box of betel made of bamboo, a little rice, a basket, a cup, two pots, a spinning-wheel, a knife, an axe, a mat, a few buckets, and a moveable fire-place. This is their whole array of valuables. They manufacture an intoxicating liquor, and are much addicted to intemperance. Too idle and effeminate to be quarrelsome, they are peaceful and mild in their disposition and habits, and being persecuted and trampled on by their haughty neighbours, they are driven together by community of suffering, and attached by brotherhood in misfortune.

‘ A more extended notice should be given to those circumstances which have led to the conjecture that the Karens are of Jewish original.

‘ At the request of the English commissioner, Mr. Mason, who had been much amongst the Karens, communicated to him the following results of his observation and inquiry in regard to them. Their countenance is decidedly Jewish; the beard is worn long by many of them; and their dress, differing from that of surrounding nations, is precisely like that of the Hebrews, both in texture,

fashion, and mode of wearing. But it is their remarkable traditions which most strikingly indicate an affinity with, if not a descent from, the Hebrew race.

‘ These traditions have been preserved, like the poems of Ossian, by fond memories delighting to revive the recollections of former glory and prosperity;—repeated by grandsires at eventide to their listening descendants, and sung by mourners over the graves of their elders.

‘ They believe in a God, who is denominated Kū-tsa, or great Lord,—and Yu-wah, or Jehovah. That this last word is identical with the Hebrew Jehovah, seems very probable. We know not how the original word in Hebrew was pronounced. The Greek writers spelt it thus, ΙΑΩ. With the Masoretic pointing, and dropping the middle syllable, as Bishops Hare and Lowth both do, we have the Karen word Yu-wah. Like the Jews, the Karens regard this word as sacred, and fear to utter it. They repeat a verse containing this sentiment:—

“ God created us in ancient time,
And has a perfect knowledge of all things :
Call him not Yu-wah, but call him Pū ;—(great ancestor ;)
When men call his name, he hears!”

‘ With regard to God’s attributes, their belief is thus expressed:—

“ God is unchangeable and eternal :
He was in the beginning of the world :
The life of God is endless :
A succession of words does not measure it.”

‘ They believe in the existence of heavenly beings, who have never sinned, and who are the angels, or messengers, of Deity. The following beautiful verse is a part of one of their old poems:—

“ The sons of heaven are holy,
They sit by the seat of God :
The sons of heaven are righteous,
They dwell together with God,
They lean against his silver seat.”

‘ *Satan*, or a sinful and fallen angel, enters into their company of supernatural beings. The following stanza might be mistaken for the production of David, or Isaiah:—

“ Satan in days of old was holy,
But he transgressed God’s law :
Satan of old was righteous,
But he departed from the law of God,
And God drove him away.”

‘ Another of their traditional relics, in the prosaic form, is

thus expressed: "Oh children and grand-children! in the beginning, God, to try man, whether he would or would not observe his commands, created the tree of death and the tree of life; saying, concerning the tree of death, 'eat not of it!' He wished to see whether man believed. Not believing, he ate of the fruit of the tree of death; and the tree of life God hid. Because the tree of life has been hidden, men have died ever since that time." The Karens say, that Satan tempted woman to eat the forbidden fruit of the tree of death.

'They also believe that woman was made from the rib of man. The dispersion at Babel is thus described:—

"Men were all brethren:
They spoke the language of God:
But they disbelieved the language of God,
And became enemies to each other.
Because they disbelieved God,
Their language was divided:
God gave them commands,
But they believed him not,
And divisions ensued."—

And the ultimate fate of the earth, to which frequent allusions are made in their poetry, they say, will be destruction by fire.

'Their religious code embraces the following scriptural duties:—viz. love to God, prayer, repentance, abstinence from idolatry, honour to parents, which last is thus declared:—

"Respect and reverence your father and mother; for, when you were small, they did not suffer so much as a moscheto to bite you. To sin against your parents is a heinous crime."—

'It also includes love to others, — alms-giving, — universal benevolence, — love to enemies, — patience and humility; — and, like the Scripture, it forbids murder, robbery, theft, adultery, lying, profanity, idleness, covetousness, avarice, intemperance, anger and revenge. The following precept seems to have been drawn fresh from the sermon of Christ on the Mount:—"Oh children and grand-children! if a person strike you on the face, he does not strike you on the face; he only strikes on the floor: therefore, if a person strike you on one cheek, give him the other to strike."

'Respecting their own nation, the Karens, say that God formerly loved it above all others, but that on account of its sins he punished it, and reduced its inhabitants to their present condition. "But," say they, "God will again have mercy on us: God will save us again." "Oh children and grand-children! the Karen will yet dwell in the city with the golden palace:—

the Karen king will yet appear, and when he arrives, there will be happiness.

“ Good persons, the good,
Shall go to the silver city :
Righteous persons shall go
To the new town,—the new city ! ”

“ When the Karen king arrives,
There will be only one monarch :
When the Karen king comes,
Rich and poor will not exist ! ”

“ When the Karen king arrives,
Every thing will be happy :
When the Karen king arrives,
The beasts will be happy :
When Karens have a king,
Lions and leopards will lose their savageness ! ”

‘ Abundance of quotations from their unwritten literature might be made to illustrate the similarity which exists between the Karens and the Jews, and to shew that they are a most remarkable race of men. But enough has been already laid before our readers, to excite curiosity, and direct the attention of philosophic as well as religious inquirers to this hitherto unknown race.

‘ Such being their character, condition, and religious notions, it cannot surprise us that, when they heard of the religion of Jesus Christ from Mr. Boardman, they were ready to admire and embrace it. Immediately after his arrival in Tavoy, he was visited by some of the neighbouring Karen tribes, who were able to converse in the Burman tongue, and who listened with the simplicity and candour of children to his conversation, and displayed so great a willingness to adopt Christianity, that he was led to question their sincerity. He could not readily believe that a people so barbarous, so far removed from all Christian countries, and who seemed to him wholly irreligious, were sincerely gratified to learn the story of the Gospel, and adopt the religion of Jesus. To us, who now know more about them, it seems by no means strange that they were thus affected.

‘ The few Karens who first called on Mr. B. soon returned to their mountain fastnesses, and circulated the thrilling news that a teacher, from a strange and far distant land, had come to preach a new religion,—a religion that told of one God, of a Saviour, of a pure and peaceful and holy life, of love to God and love to man, of an immortality, and of a heaven of blessedness. The glad tidings ran, like fire upon the mountains, from village to village, and was every where hailed as the dawning

of a long expected day,—the day when the poor Karens should once more have a national faith,—a religion answering to the traditions of their fathers.

‘ From far distant hills, and remote valleys and forests, Karen inquirers flocked to Tavoy, and thronging around *the teacher*, hung upon his lips, and eagerly listened to his instructions, and manifested child-like pleasure and credulity in receiving as true all his assertions. Mr. Boardman was amazed;—he knew not what to believe or think. They urged him to come up into their wild hills, and visit them; and promised that he should be welcomed as a messenger of joy. They told him many singular stories, and among others this;—that more than ten years before, a man in a strange dress came among them, and preached a strange doctrine, and left among them a book in a strange language, which he ordered them to worship, telling them also, that there was but one living and true God. After he went away, they remembered and believed his words; they appointed a priest to take charge of the sacred volume, of which they did not know even the language; and they continued, in defiance of severe persecution by the Burmans, to obey their unknown teacher, and worship the book and the one living and true God.

‘ Mr. Boardman’s curiosity was aroused: he requested them to bring and shew to him this sacred book; and they readily promised to do so. Their compliance was delayed first by the sickness of the person who acted as priest or guardian of the mysterious volume, and next by the floods which in the rainy season of the year completely cut off the city of Tavoy from the Karen villages. It was not till September that they succeeded in gratifying Mr. Boardman’s wishes. Early in September, on returning home one day from his house of public worship (*zayat*), he found his dwelling thronged with Karens, who informed him that the teacher had arrived with *THE BOOK*, the much venerated book. He called them up and inquired what they wished;—when the teacher came forward, and thus replied.—“ *My Lord*, your humble servants have come from the wilderness to lay at your lordship’s feet a certain book, and to inquire of your lordship whether it is good or bad, true or false. We, Karens, your humble servants, are an ignorant race of people; we have no books, no written language; we know nothing of God or his law. When this book was given us, we were charged to worship it, which we have done for twelve years. But we know nothing of its contents, not so much as in what language it is written. We have heard of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and are persuaded of its truth, and we wish to know if this book contains the doctrine of that Gospel. We are persuaded that your lordship can easily settle that question, and

teach us the true way of becoming happy." Mr. B. requested them to shew the book, when the old man opened a large basket, and having removed fold after fold of wrappers, he handed out an old tattered duodecimo volume ;—it was an English copy of the *Prayer Book and Psalter* ! For twelve years had this little work been made an object of ignorant worship.

‘ The deified book, through the politeness of the Baptist Missionary Board, now lies before the writer of this article. It is covered with coarse, blue, cotton cloth, and wrapped about with a long strip of muslin, white, striped, and rudely embroidered. The volume has lost both its covers, and several of the outside pages at each end ; but fortunately the title-page to the Psalms, towards the close, is in good preservation. The gilding of the leaves is only partially injured. It is a pleasing and singular fact, that, in its present condition, the volume commences with the collect for *The Epiphany, or the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles*. The title-page to the Psalms reads thus :—

“ The whole BOOK of PSALMS, collected into English Metre, by THOMAS STERNHOLD, JOHN HOPKINS, and others ; conferred with the Hebrew ; set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches, of all the people together, before and after morning and evening prayer ; and also before and after sermons ; and moreover in private houses, for their godly solace and comfort ; laying apart all ungodly songs and ballads, which tend only to the nourishing of vice, and corrupting of youth. OXFORD ; &c. &c. MDCCCVI.”

‘ Within the leaves we find, in the writing of Mr. Boardman himself, the following short account. “ This book of Common Prayer, with the Psalms, was, for about twelve years, an object of religious veneration to a company of wild men (Karens) in the province of Tavoy. They knew nothing of its contents,—not even in what language it was composed,—but, as they were taught by the person who gave it them, they paid it an ignorant but supreme worship, till, hearing of our arrival in Tavoy, they brought it forward and presented it to me, accepting in its stead a version of a part of the Psalms in the Burman language, which they partially understand. Some of them have since embraced the Gospel, and are desirous of being baptized. The book is now forwarded to America, to be deposited in the Museum of the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. *Tavoy, March 25th, 1829.*”

‘ It were vain to conjecture how this little book found its way into the heart of the Tavoy forest, where it was found, as never book before was seen, elevated into an object of religious adoration. But one cannot help wondering whether it was left with

the Karens by a really pious Englishman, its owner, whose instructions were misunderstood, or by some profane scoffer, who was willing to try the experiment of furnishing a barbarous tribe with an object of sacred respect, and left his prayer-book as the first thing that came to hand for the purpose. We scarcely hope to see the mystery solved.

‘We are ahead of our story, to which we will now return. Mr. Boardman established a school immediately after his arrival in Tavoy, and pursued the same course of public teaching as at Maulmein; and, as at that place, so here also, he attracted great curiosity, and was resorted to by great numbers, until he became an object of suspicion to the priesthood. This numerous body, which in Tavoy alone amounted to at least two hundred, soon found, like the shrine-makers of Ephesus, that the new religion was likely to make sad work with their ancient power, consideration, and wealth; and *of course* could not avoid cherishing towards the teacher of it a spirit of enmity and revenge. We say *of course*, for the religion of Guadama or Boodh, does not teach its disciples to return benefit for injury,—good for evil. But however unpleasant might be the aspect of their angry countenances, and the sound of their unfriendly voices, no real and open danger could be apprehended from the priests under the sway of the British Government; so that, although their timid disciples might, by the frowns of these ministers of iniquity, be frightened from Mr. Boardman’s *zayat*, yet Mr. and Mrs. Boardman themselves had nothing to apprehend.

‘Soon after their arrival in Tavoy, a Karen, named Ko-thah-byoo, who had become a Christian in Maulmein, and removed with Mr. B., was baptized. Moved by the desire of extending to his countrymen in Tavoy the gospel-light, he started, immediately after his baptism, on an excursion among the distant Karen settlements; and with him went many joyful members of these rude tribes. Three excursions of this kind did he make, each one of longer duration than the last, before Mr. Boardman himself complied with the oft repeated request of the Karens to come himself among them. Roused by the strange message which was thus brought among them, these simple-hearted people travelled many days’ journey to converse with the American Teacher, and, on their return, spread still more widely the moving story, so that, in more than one vast province of India, the Karens were excited to inquiry.

‘The year 1828 passed away, without Mr. Boardman’s having yielded to the Karen call. Meantime he had been labouring day and night with a zeal of exhausting ardour, and a consuming industry. His labours had been crowned with the establishment of a native church, consisting of four members, and of a flourish-

ing school. One of his baptismal scenes is so finely sketched by his pen, that we cannot deny our readers the pleasure of its perusal.

“Having previously examined Moung-Bo and Kee-Keang, the two persons who applied for baptism last month, we could not, consistently with our feelings of duty, defer their case any longer, and this day has been fixed on for administering the ordinance. Accordingly, after worship, a little band of us, passing through that part of the town most sacred to Guadama, bent our way among Pagodas, temples, and Kyoungs,—alike unheeded and unheeding,—and entering the high Pagoda road, we passed on till we came to the baptismal tank. Near the tank, was a tall Pagoda, pointing its gilded summit to the skies. It being Burman as well as Christian worship day, the multitude were gathered around to pay their devotions to the gilded shrine. In that tank, under the shadow of that Pagoda, and in sight of their former companions, who now gazed with mingled astonishment and malice, the two young disciples solemnly renounced their vain idols, and put on the Lord Jesus Christ, by a public profession of his name. Oh! it was a joyful and memorable occasion. Some of the heavenly host, I doubt not, gazed on the sight with approbation; and He who promised to be in the midst of two or three assembled in his name, was, I trust, in the midst of us.”

Mr. B. had devised an extensive and excellent plan of school instruction for the province of Tavoy, which now promises, in the hands of the Missionary Board, to become productive of abundant good. His labours had been rendered more arduous by the fact, that the dialect of the Burmese, spoken in Tavoy, differed widely from that which he had previously learned at Calcutta and Maulmein, so that while teaching his scholars, preaching to his hearers, engaged in building zayats and houses, contriving plans of operation, performing the domestic duties of husband and parent, and corresponding with friends in America, he was obliged to prosecute the study of Tavoyan-Burmese.

These multiplied duties, pursued in that urgent spirit which characterized this good man, so wore upon his feeble system, that in December of this year, (1828,) he was attacked with one of the most alarming symptoms of consumption,—a copious expectoration of blood. This circumstance was enough to remind Mr. Boardman that his tenure on life was feeble and uncertain,—but not enough to damp his zeal. He regarded it as a warning to “work while the day lasted.”

On the 5th of February, 1829, he left his wife and family for the purpose of making his long projected visit to the Karens. He was accompanied by two Karens, two of the largest boys from his school, and a Malabar cook. They started at 9 o'clock, A.M. and travelled till 5 P.M., but proceeded only eighteen miles. It was the hottest season of the year; the road was a

winding foot-path, traversing cultivated fields, and uncultivated hills and valleys, and thick, tangled, and lofty bamboo jungles. They suffered from the burning heat, and were completely drenched by an unexpected shower of rain, which overtook them in an uninhabited spot, and beat upon them furiously. They were obliged to encamp in the open wilderness,—where they were again wet through by a storm that lasted till midnight.

‘ On the 6th they rose early, feeling grateful that they had not fallen a prey to the tigers, wild elephants, or other savage animals which haunt these forests. Their road this day lay over rough cliffs and precipices, across large streams, and along the rugged banks of mountain torrents. They slept in the hut of a hospitable Karen.

‘ On the 7th they met messengers from a Karen village, who came out to receive them with a warm and Christian-like hospitality, which cheered Mr. Boardman’s heart. At three o’clock they reached the village, found a large house prepared for them, and were literally overwhelmed with presents of provisions and fruits. The faces of the villagers beamed with delight, and they exclaimed, “ ah, you have come *at last* ; we have long wanted to see you ! ” Mr. Boardman, notwithstanding his fatigue, preached to the natives who assembled this evening, and again he delivered three sermons on the day following. On the 9th he delivered several sermons, and spent the day (Sunday) in a manner to himself most delightful. As he intended to depart early next morning, nearly half the congregation remained in the zayat all night, so as to bid him farewell.

‘ On the 10th and 11th he preached in other villages, where, as before, he found attentive and eager listeners.

‘ On the 12th he travelled through the most difficult paths under circumstances of great discomfort ; and at night, after going to bed, he was for the third time deluged with a rain so powerful that it penetrated the bamboo roof, and soaked through all his clothing, and drenched his baggage.

‘ On the 13th he returned to Tavoy,—having travelled more than a hundred miles, and preached *seventeen* sermons within the space of nine days, besides being exposed to the fury of storms in unsheltered places. By this journey Mr. Boardman was convinced that his doubts as to the sincerity of the Karen character were unjust. The hospitalities which he received, the joy created by his presence among the villagers, the earnest attention bestowed upon his preaching, were enough to satisfy him that the Karens were prepared to adopt his religion and become Christians.

‘ On his return to Tavoy, his feelings were severely tried by discovering that some of the native members of his church had been guilty of gross misconduct, and were disgracing their pro-

fession. Family trouble was soon added to his afflictions, by the illness of his wife. In May, he was obliged by her feebleness of health to abandon his labours for a time, for the purpose of giving her the benefit of a voyage. A fortnight's vacation restored her strength and spirits, and he returned to Tavoy.

' In July, Mr. and Mrs. Boardman were called upon to mourn the death of their eldest child. "Our anxieties about her," says the weeping father, "are now over; but Oh! how affection still clings to her, and often sets her ruddy, beauteous form before our eyes!" At the same time their only surviving child was apparently at the point of death,—so that, while laying Sarah in her grave, they trembled at the probability of soon depositing George by her side. But he was spared.

' During this month, Mr. Boardman prepared a record of the various afflictions by which his soul had been tried within the year: these were, three successive losses of property by shipwreck; the apostasy of several of his church; two attacks of hemorrhage on the lungs; the illness of his wife, the death of one child, and the alarming illness of the other. "It grieves me," said he, "to think that I was so sinful as to need such afflictions!"

' On Sunday morning, August 9th, our friends were roused from their sleep by the ringing of alarm bells, discharges of musketry, and the cries of their pupils, "master, teacher, Tavoy rebels." They rose in great alarm, and found that the city was in open revolt, and bullets were whistling around their heads. The rebel forces soon compelled them to desert their house, which stood without the city gates, and to take refuge within the walls. The English forces were small and feeble, and under the pressure of an immense host of insurgents, every moment becoming more numerous and violent, they were obliged in a few hours to evacuate the city, and retreat to the wharf. To this place, a wooden building of six rooms, were carried the arms and other military stores; and therein were huddled all the sepoys with their baggage, and hundreds of European women and children, all looking for protection to the English. In these narrow quarters, surrounded by casks of gunpowder, which were exposed to constant danger of explosion,—cut off from all communication with any other place,—poorly furnished with provisions, and exhausted by fatigue and the diseases of the rainy season, the wretched Europeans awaited their approaching fate. Meantime the work of destruction went rapidly forward in the city, and fire and sword made terrible havoc. On Thursday morning an assault was made at day-break upon the wharf, by a party of five hundred insurgents, who set fire to several neighbouring houses and vessels. Providentially, a violent rain prevented the spread of the flames; and still more fortunately, a British steamer hove

in sight, bringing succour to the desponding garrison at the wharf. The steam vessel, after taking the females on board, returned for reinforcements to Maulmein. On Saturday an attack was made upon the town by the British, and the walls were again brought into their possession. On Sunday the city was completely restored to quiet, and the European inhabitants freed from all danger. Mr. Boardman describes the scene presented on his return within the walls, as one of utter and awful havoc and desolation. Everything destructible had been destroyed. His own house was "cut to pieces," its contents burnt, or broken, or carried off,—and nothing but a few fragments left to indicate his fate. But his wife and child were safe at Maulmein; his own life was preserved; and none of his church or scholars had been concerned in, or injured by, the insurrection;—his strongest feeling, therefore, was *gratitude*. In about a month he and his family were once more at Tavoy, as though nothing had occurred.

‘To increase that pleasure which he had derived from a short visit at Maulmein with Messrs. Judson and Wade, he now found that his fate had been an object of intense interest to the Karens, and that his safety was a subject of devout thankfulness. These "wild-men" flocked around him from the remotest corners of Tavoy, in great numbers; and one old man of threescore and five years had traversed mountains, rocks, hills and streams, a distance of fifty miles, to solicit baptism.

‘Encouraged by increasing attention among the natives, he now commenced a course of itinerary preaching in the scattered villages of Tavoy; visiting three or four of these villages each week, and teaching both publicly and from house to house. It is impossible for us to form adequate notions of the arduousness of this mode of labour, in the burning climate of India. Within two months he visited nearly thirty villages in this manner, being almost universally received willingly and with pleasure, though sometimes treated with unkindness. The Karen village Ts’heik-koo, the one in which he first preached in February, became wholly Christian in its character, paying a sacred regard to the Sabbath, and in other respects conforming to Christian customs and institutions. The schools became more full and flourishing than ever,—the church increased in numbers, and a delightful prosperity seemed destined to follow the short reign of confusion and danger.

‘Early in 1830, Mr. Boardman’s constitution began rapidly to break down under his enormous burden of care and labour;—and the voice of approaching death was heard in his consumptive cough. Mrs. Boardman was also reduced to the very point of death by disease, and the whole system of Missionary operations was for several weeks suspended, while Mr. B. attended, as he thought, to the wants of his dying wife. "What will become of

my poor child," thought he; "what will become of the schools, of the poor native women,—and what will become of *me*, if she die?" On her recovery his thankfulness knew no bounds;—his letters are eloquent in their utterance of joy and praise.

There are but few incidents to relate as occurring within the year 1830. Mrs. Boardman's health compelled her to leave Tavoy and go to Maulmein, where she and her husband were once more obliged to mourn over the death of a child,—an infant son. Mr. B. made a third and long excursion among the Karens, on the hills of Tavoy, where the Gospel was hailed as indeed glad tidings. By advice of his missionary brethren, he passed a few months in Maulmein;—but, their plan not being carried into full effect, he returned to the Tavoy station. At the close of the year, the Tavoy church included thirty-one native members,—of whom eighteen Karens were baptized at once, in November. Mr. Boardman's health was now wretchedly bad,—and it was manifest to all, that he had but a brief period of labour or of life before him. But his heart beat joyfully even in prospect of death,—and his spirits rose in anticipation of his heavenly rest.

The last record which has reached America, in Mr. Boardman's hand-writing, is dated January 1, 1831, and is an entry in his Journal. It announces the expected addition of one or two missionaries to the Tavoy station,—and of several Karens to the church.

On the 23d of January, Rev. Mr. Mason and wife arrived at Tavoy, from America. They arrived in time to accompany Mr. Boardman in his last tour among the Karens, and to witness his death.

Mr. Mason perceived on his arrival, that Boardman was "a dying man;" but as his heart was fixed on visiting the Karen villages once more, no objection was made to the journey,—although he was too much debilitated to walk. He was carried by his faithful Karens on a cot-bed the whole distance of a three days' journey, accompanied by Mr. Mason, and by his own affectionate wife, who would not remain behind. The journey was commenced on the 31st of January.

On arriving at the zayat which had been prepared for his reception, the Karen converts who were anxious to be baptized came in for examination, and the worthy Missionary, reclining on his couch, devoted his failing breath to the agreeable duty. Of more than fifty who applied, thirty-four were deemed fit subjects of baptism. When the hour of performing this ceremony arrived, Mr. Boardman, at his own request, was carried to the water-side, though so weak that he could scarcely breathe without the use of the fan and smelling-bottle. His great desire was to behold the administration of the ordinance,—and he said that he could then die with the exclamation of Simeon on his lips,—“ Lord, now

lettest thou thy servant depart in peace!" His emotions were almost too powerful for his frame. He afterwards addressed a few words to the natives around him, and offered a short prayer. The party attempted the following day to return;—they were overtaken by a violent shower of rain;—the dying man was again drenched with wet among those hills, where he had so often before been exposed to tempest;—he survived the night, but died at noon of February 12th, in the arms of the Karen attendants, who were bearing him homeward. The sorrow of wife and friends, who shall describe? The hand of God was recognised even through the cloud of death, and the grief of those who lamented the removal of a faithful servant in the midst of his labours, was assuaged by the reflection, that he had "entered into the joy of his Lord."

'The whole Christian world were Boardman's mourners. The whole Karen nation wept bitterly over his grave. The station at Tavoy is now occupied by faithful Missionaries,—and the blessings of Christianity are rapidly spreading over that province;—but Boardman is still unforgotten;—*his* name, who first preached salvation to the poor *wildmen*, is now whispered by hundreds of grateful voices at the even-tide circle of friends, and at the altar of simple and pure devotion.

'The following Epitaph is intended to be inscribed on Boardman's tomb.

'Sacred to the memory of George D. Boardman, American Missionary to Burmah. Born Feb. 8, 1801,—Died Feb. 11, 1831. *His Epitaph is written in the adjoining forests.* Ask in the Christian villages of yonder mountains—Who taught you to abandon the worship of demons?—Who raised you from vice to morality?—Who brought you your Bibles, your Sabbaths, and your words of prayer? Let the reply be his Eulogy! *A cruce corona.*'

Art. V.—*Geology in 1835; a Popular Sketch of the Progress, leading Features, and latest Discoveries of this rising Science.* By John Lawrance. 12mo. pp. 139. Price 4s. London, 1835.

WE have, of late, been engaged in examining a rather extended series of elementary works on geological science, with the intention of laying before our readers a somewhat comprehensive view of the more facile and effective methods of gaining a satisfactory insight into its principles and their application. Among these publications we have found the volume which now lies before us; but although, like them, it is addressed to those who may be, as yet, uninformed on that interesting subject, it seems

to present itself under a different aspect, and to occupy ground so far peculiar, as to demand a distinct and previous, though necessarily brief recommendation.

Having been delivered in the form of lectures addressed, it should seem, to a mixed auditory, this well-written 'Sketch' has taken a direction varying both from a simply rudimental course, and from a minute or strictly consecutive detail. It is, in fact, a preliminary essay on the history, range, and characteristic phenomena of geological science, a large and luminous preface to an extensive subject; a judicious attempt either to prepare the learner for an intelligent and successful prosecution of his studies, or to furnish the more general student with a clear and discriminating bird's-eye view of a scene too wide-spreading and too intricate for exhibition in mere perspective. The free and self-stimulated researches of ripened intellect are to be conducted on different principles from the enforced studies of early pupilage; and we can imagine nothing more beneficial to a mind exercised in the application of its powers, and entering on a new field of inquiry, than to commence it by laying in a stock of results, clearly defined, fairly compacted, and expressed in a style essentially attractive, and carefully cleared of mere technicalities. The previous mastering—a pleasant and easy task—of such a popular digest as that before us, would greatly facilitate, in all its stages, the acquisition of scientific geology. We are sorry that we must confine ourselves to this general description, but our limits are defined, and we must repress, for the present, all inclination to pursue the subject. Of Mr. Lawrance's style and manner, one specimen, taken without the slightest attempt at favourable selection, but referring to important and much agitated questions, must be sufficient.

"If there be any fact well established in geology," says the great Cuvier in his admirable '*Discours Preliminaire*', "it is this; that the surface of our globe has suffered a great and sudden revolution, the period of which cannot be dated farther back than five or six thousand years. This revolution has, on the one hand, engulfed and caused to disappear the countries formerly inhabited by men and the animal species at present least known; and on the other hand, has laid bare the bottom of the vast ocean; thus converting its channel into the now habitable earth." Cuvier was not predisposed to arrive at this conclusion; his testimony, therefore, is not to be despised. But the evidence is irresistible. The geologist who had never heard of Noah or the writings of Moses, would inevitably be driven to the same conclusion.

Those who argue with Mr. Lyall, that all the modifications of the earth's surface have been produced by the slow but gradual operation of causes now in action, can never get over the proofs of this universal cataclysm; in comparison with which all the revolutions and convulsions of modern times dwindle into insignificance. Great and aw-

ful, however, as are these effects, when measured by the contracted span of our ideas, they are as nothing when considered with reference to the globe,—the vast mass of matter upon which they occur, and insignificant in fact, compared with the mighty *bouleversemens* which have prostrated the high hills, and reared 'ocean's caves' into mountains such as those which produced the shelly summit of Snowdon, and buried in the dark profundity of the earth the beautiful vegetation of its surface.'

The volume is illustrated by well chosen wood engravings.

Art. VI.—*The Fossil Flora of Great Britain; or, Figures and Descriptions of the Vegetable Remains found in a Fossil State in this Country.* By John Lindley and William Hutton. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. li. 218. Plates 79. London, 1831—3.

THE study of geology, like that of most fashionable sciences, may be pursued at marvellously small expense of time and labour. Nothing can be easier than to acquire the simple elements of mineralogy, and to become familiar with the more obvious phenomena and the less complicated generalizations of geological science; nor are we at all disposed to discourage this rudimental acquisition, considered either as an important auxiliary to general reading, or as enabling the possessor even of this small stock of knowledge, to avail himself advantageously of circumstances and situations, where his means of observation might otherwise be tantalizing to himself, and unprofitable to others. There are seasons and localities when it is desirable to know how to pick up pebbles with discrimination; and an easily obtained acquaintance with the common varieties of rock, may sometimes enable an observer to ascertain facts of the highest scientific nature, where he must otherwise waste his opportunities in vague and unavailable description. But all this, and much more than this, will give but small aid towards a clear and comprehensive view of a science which deals, not accidentally but essentially, with the vast and the minute; which ascends from the analysis of the air we breathe, and of the dust that rises in the breeze, to the laws which regulate the construction of the 'great globe itself,' and to the mighty revolutions which have fitted it, successively, for a primeval solitude of rank and gloomy vegetation—for an abode of 'all monstrous, all prodigious things,' creatures strange and enormous, baffling every conclusion drawn from the forms and systems that surround us—for the place where *mind* was to display its dominating power, to fulfil the conditions of its moral being, and to unfold the elements of its immortality.

No one can fairly congratulate himself on having obtained a satisfactory knowledge of the principles of geology, who has not given attention to the characters, distribution, and geological suc-

cession of the organic remains which distinguish the different strata of the globe. Yet is this knowledge by no means of easy acquisition to that very large class of general students, which is excluded by circumstances or by situation from the use of an extensive collection. To the residents in some of our more important towns, well supplied museums are freely opened, but this indispensable advantage is unattainable by the far greater number who dwell in less favoured localities. Description is but an imperfect substitute for inspection; and, although drawings or engravings might supply the absence of specimens, there is not, so far as we know, any readily accessible work of this kind on a comprehensive plan. There are distinct publications, illustrative of various departments, highly meritorious indeed, but of prohibitory expense; and few greater services could be rendered to the great and increasing body of enquirers, than by the publication of manuals, well illustrated by xylographic diagrams, of the three departments of fossil remains—plants, shells, and animals. In the mean time, the admirably conducted publication, now in our hands, although of a more costly kind than that which we have just recommended, has been most seasonably undertaken by men, thoroughly fitted for their task, by sound and extensive knowledge of their subject both practically and in theory. And it is, in truth, a subject demanding no small portion of skill and experience for its adequate treatment.

‘Fossil Botany is beset with difficulties of a peculiar character. The materials that the enquirer has to work upon, are not only disfigured by those accidents to which all fossil remains are exposed in common, but they are also those which would, in recent vegetation, be considered of the smallest degree of importance. There is, in most cases, an almost total want of that evidence by which the Botanist is guided in the examination of recent plants; and not only the total destruction of the parts of fructification, and of the internal organization of the stem, but what contributes still more to the perplexity of the subject, a frequent separation of one part from another, of leaves from branches, of branches from trunks, and, if fructification be present, of even it from the parts of the plant on which it grew, so that no man can tell how to collect the fragments that remain into a perfect whole. For it must be remembered, that it is not in Botany as in Zoology, where a skilful anatomist has no difficulty in combining the scattered bones of a broken skeleton. In Botany, on the contrary, the component parts of both foliage and fructification are often so much alike in outline, which is all that the Fossil Botanist can judge from, as to indicate almost nothing when separated from each other, and from the axis to which they appertain. It is only by the various combinations of these parts that the genera and species of plants are to be recognized, and it is precisely these combinations that in fossils are destroyed.’

Much, however, has been of late effected by skilful and per-

severing experimentalists in despite of all these difficulties. Mr. Witham has given a new aspect to some of the most inaccessible of these peculiarities, by subjecting to microscopic observation, very thin plates of various fossils; and the investigations of Sternberg, Buckland, and Brongniart, have extended and systematized the science. But it should always, in these matters, be kept in mind, that, with all deference to great names, the humblest student may be enabled by activity and vigilance to throw light on the most difficult inquiries. Geology, in all its departments, is emphatically a science of observation, calling eye, foot, and hand into constant exertion, and every one who wishes well to its interests, may serve it, perhaps essentially, by keeping what is familiarly called a sharp look out. The fragments of a quarry, the *ejecta* of a mine or a tunnel, the refuse of a coal-pit, the debris of a precipice, the accumulations of the strand, may furnish unexpected illustrations or suggest new trains of exploration. That singular fossil, *Polyporites Bowmanni*, was found among the rubbish at the mouth of a Welsh coal-mine.

Art. VII. 1. *The Second Address of the Annual Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales*, held at the Congregational Library. London, May 12th, 15th and 16th, 1835. To the Ministers and Churches of the same Faith and Order throughout the Empire. 12mo, pp. 16. 8vo, 3d. 12mo, 1d. London, 1835.

2. *The Scriptural Unity of the Protestant Churches exhibited in their published Confessions*. 12mo, pp. xx. 123. Dublin, 1835.

THIS Second Address, or Yearly Epistle of the Congregational Union, has for its main topic, the enforcement of ‘a scriptural purity of communion’ on the churches, and, ‘as intimately connected with it, a faithful administration of scriptural discipline.’ Much depends, it is remarked, on the qualifications of those who are received to the privileges of the church.

‘It is our acknowledged conviction, that they only who have embraced the Saviour, and have tasted that he is gracious, are entitled to Christian fellowship, or qualified for its duties and enjoyments. The admission of those who are strangers to the power of the gospel is in every way injurious. It is disastrous most frequently to the individuals themselves; having a tendency to quiet the conscience, and to deceive with unfounded hopes of salvation: and a serious evil to the church which receives them; being the sure means of lowering its spiritual character. We are plainly bound in kindness to them, as well as in faithfulness to the cause of God, to withhold encouragement from such as give no evidence of genuine piety, or are actuated by improper motives. Repentance towards God, and faith towards the

Lord Jesus Christ, are the only indispensable qualifications required. They are the proper foundation of mutual confidence, without which fellowship is but a name. On the scriptural evidence of these, often associated with great diffidence and timidity, we should rejoice to hold out a cordial welcome to our Christian fellowship and love. In seeking such evidences, we plead for the employment of no painful inquisitorial process; the establishment of no harsh and, to some, impossible requirement; nothing that ought to offend the delicacy or repel the approaches of the most timid. Let the existence of true piety be only ascertained, in the judgment of charity, and we are satisfied. We deem it of great importance to abide by these scriptural requirements. Every departure from them is dangerous, whether it proceed from causes in themselves evil, or from a mistaken sense of duty. It will deteriorate the character of the church by the admission of persons who have no sympathy with the grand objects of its institution. It will place in jeopardy the spirituality and efficiency of the entire body, by the almost certain infusion and ultimate prevalence of a worldly spirit, which will imperceptibly neutralize the privileges, and disincline to the duties, which communion involves. The elements of discord will be introduced, where agreement should reign; edification will soon be lost sight of, or cease to be practicable; and the very intention of the institution will be perverted and abused. To this cause, we suspect that much of the contention which occasionally prevails in our churches, often eagerly exaggerated by those who do not understand us, is to be attributed. Where a healthy state of spiritual feeling exists, the differences which arise amongst brethren may easily be accommodated. It is only when selfishness, passion, and worldliness take part in the strife, that confusion and every evil work follow. We introduce and foster these elements, when the requirements of Scripture are dispensed with, and a wide and open entrance to church privilege, irrespective of spiritual qualifications, is allowed. It is admitted, that even with the greatest prudence and circumspection, hypocrites and deceivers will unawares creep in; but this is no reason why we should directly and systematically provide for the increase of these evils—why we should invite hypocrisy and encourage deception, by a careless, and still more by an indiscriminate, admission to Christian fellowship. Keeping equally aloof from harsh and unnecessary restrictions, and from a lax and injurious course of proceeding, let us adhere to the directions of the Sure Testimony. Duty, interest, and experience combine to enforce this recommendation upon us. Selecting precious materials, living stones, in the building of the Lord's temple, we shall be recompensed for our labour in the increasing spirituality and peace of our churches now, and in the permanency of our work. It shall abide, for the day shall declare it, when the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is.

Intimately connected with this subject, permit us to urge the necessity of a faithful administration of scriptural discipline. This is indispensable to the continued prosperity of our churches; though we fear that, in some quarters, it is not sufficiently understood. The ability of any church to accomplish the objects for which it exists, very much depends on the earnest desire for spiritual improvement evinced

by each member, and the consequent character imparted to the whole body; the combination of sympathy, watchfulness, and prayer, directed towards the increase of every holy attainment and Christian grace. In such healthful circumstances, there will readily be found every needful encouragement and assistance, amidst the trials and difficulties of our spiritual course, and those self-denying habits which the service of the gospel demands. When, however, from any cause, the character of the church suffers, when it declines in piety, even without any departure from sound doctrine—a very possible case—the very end of fellowship will be endangered. It will be of little avail to boast of our scriptural constitution, when, in consequence of an allowed and growing indifference to divine things, the objects which it contemplates have been neglected or forgotten. We shall only the more effectually bring it into disrepute, and increase the contempt with which the entire subject is too generally regarded. We mention this, to remind you, that the form and constitution of the church, however scriptural and well adapted as a means, must fail in the furtherance of holiness, if its laws be not faithfully administered, and the end of its creation be not steadily kept in view and perseveringly prosecuted, in the spirit of meekness and love. The constitution of the church is not designed to supply living principles, or to supersede, by a power inherent in itself, the necessity of their diligent cultivation, but merely to furnish facilities and aids for their increase in strength and development in action. One system may be superior to another in affording such facilities, but the best will prove worthless, without the presence and influence of that Spirit which ought to animate it, and can alone secure its intended results. Whatever, then, injures the spiritual character of the church, in the extent to which it is suffered to prevail, defeats its designs. Every church is perpetually exposed to injury. Offences must come. Christians may be seduced by temptation, and fall into sin. The hypocritical may gradually throw off their mask, and become manifestly indifferent to the interests of religion, or make open shipwreck of faith and a good conscience. The continuance of allowed sin, in the purest community, will slowly, but surely, impair its character, and ultimately corrupt it. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. Some will be emboldened to similar transgressions, and coming habitually into contact with sin unrebuked, the consciences of all will lose their tenderness. As the infection spreads, the standard of Christian character will be practically and permanently lowered: confidence will be destroyed; and, instead of being mutually serviceable to each other's faith and holiness, and a centre from which emanates a healthful moral influence on the surrounding ungodliness, they will speedily become a confederacy for evil. These disastrous effects may not be immediately discernible, but they may be forming and working out by a strong under-current of infection, which eludes observation, until accidental circumstances reveal them. The intention of scriptural discipline is to furnish a corrective to these evils, and when employed with faithfulness and impartiality, is calculated to exert a salutary influence upon every one concerned in its administration. In witnessing the promptitude and affection with which offenders are rebuked and admonished, or the obstinate reluctantly excluded, when they will not

be reclaimed ; all are taught to fear sin, are excited to watchfulness, and receive a fresh impulse, bearing them onward in their course of obedience. Without the protection which discipline affords, we have no security against the introduction of evils, which tend to disturb the peace and impair the prosperity of our churches.' pp. 5—7.

So far as our knowledge extends, we should not have conceived that the Churches embraced by this Union were generally chargeable with a neglect or relaxation of religious discipline ; nor is this meant to be implied, perhaps, in the above admonitory remarks. We should not, however, be surprised to find them cited by the Author of "Essays on the Church," or by some honest controvertist of the same stamp, as a confession on the part of the Dissenters themselves, that the importance of a faithful administration of scriptural discipline is not generally understood among them ; whence it will be an easy jump to the conclusion, that our discipline is not more effective than that of the Church of England itself. Against such misconceptions and misrepresentations it may be difficult to guard ; but we could have wished that some *caveat* had been entered against the uncandid inference. It is stated, indeed, that 'many of our churches can bear a willing testimony to the speedy check which discipline gives to incipient evils ;' and it is certain, therefore, that the discipline contended for is neither chimerical nor theoretical, but exists in practice, and may be universally realized.

The subject of discipline is a very important, but a very delicate one, and requires a much more distinct exposition than can be looked for in such an address. That discipline is not the act of those to whom the superintendence of the church belongs, but of the entire body, is a position which seems to us to require some little qualification. If the word discipline is understood simply of the public expulsion or suspension of a member, it is most fit that no individuals should be intrusted with such a power, in virtue of their office, irrespective of the concurrence of the body. But we have been accustomed to understand discipline as mainly consisting in that pastoral superintendence, which, when effectively exercised, will often supersede, by private admonition, the necessity for ulterior proceeding. In cases of open sin, there can be no doubt as to the proper mode of proceeding ; but church censures have not in all cases been levelled against offences involving any moral turpitude, and much must depend upon the constitution of the court. We venture to think that there exists no real difference of sentiment on this head between the writer of the Address and ourselves ; but we are anxious that such a document should not be open to misconstruction. The all-important subject of parental responsibility is subsequently adverted to, and the duty of pastors to pay especial

attention to the young. We should be glad to see this topic more fully treated in a future address. Upon the whole, we cordially recommend this Address to the serious perusal of our readers.

We have been led to notice, in immediate connexion with this Address, the second publication, of which we have given the title, because it contains, appended to the more ancient symbols, the Declaration of Faith recently published by the Congregational Churches of England and Wales, and adopted by their brethren of Scotland and Ireland. The other contents of the volume are, the twenty-eight Articles of the Irish Church, agreed on by the Convocation held in Dublin in 1615; the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England; and the Westminster Confession of Faith, adopted by the Church of Scotland, as well as by the Synod of Ulster, the United Secession synods in Scotland and Ireland, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of America. The object of the Compiler is sufficiently indicated by the title; but we transcribe with pleasure from the Preface, the further explanation of its excellent design.

‘The writer is not one of those who can discover nothing but what is evil in the general church at the present day; nor does he love to dwell on the less fascinating features of her members; nor is he a gloomy alarmist, who can foresee nothing but desolation and woe. But with fervent thanksgivings to God, for what He has done and is doing for His Church, and in full faith of the certain bestowment of all that He has promised, he would hold up existing evils to the view of the Brethren, that they may be excited to humiliation, watchfulness, and prayer.

‘It has been thought that it might, through the blessing of God, aid in effecting this object, were the attention of Christians directed to their essential oneness in all the grand characteristics of their common Christianity; and to the views of those who, in these countries, have been instrumental in the plantation and establishment among us of the Gospel, with its privileges and blessings. Their views of divine truth were essentially the same with those of the servants of God in every preceding period: for, while error is multiform and variable, truth is one and immutable. “Thus saith the Lord, stand ye in the ways, and see; and ask for the old paths, where is the good way: and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.”

‘With this design the following little work has been undertaken. It consists of the summaries of faith and practice, originally framed by those who were instrumental, under God, in giving to these lands all that is valuable in their religious,—and even their civil privileges; and which are still held by the great body of professed believers. That, in all their leading outlines, they are founded upon “the apostles and prophets,” will be obvious from a careful and candid examination of the passages of Scripture appended as proofs of the statements they contain. That they are in substance the same with those formulas employed by the churches—immediately subsequent to the Apostolic

age, and prior to the rise of "the great apostasy"—for asserting the truth and condemning error, might be easily shown. And when the glorious Reformation took place, and, to use the language of Milton,—
 "Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it, the schools opened, divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues, the princes and cities trooping apace to the new-erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the irresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon;"—when Luther, and the rest of the glorious band of his coadjutors and followers, swept away the errors and superstitions wherewith the fair face of the church had been covered and deformed, and adopted the plan which had been employed before, for exhibiting truth and condemning error, that both might be contrasted with the infallible oracles of God, by publishing the Augsburg, Helvetic, and other "Confessions"—as theirs were in substance identical with those of the church in her purest times, so are these which follow, in all vital points, the same with theirs. No infallibility, nor even authority, is claimed for them on account of the men who compiled them,—however learned, eminent, and holy many of them were; they would, themselves, have been the very first to disclaim all such pretensions, and to say, "Be ye followers of us," *in so far as* "we are of Christ." "To the law and to the testimony." But to every sober-minded Christian it must be satisfactory to find that, amid all the changes in outward circumstances, and all the varieties of forms and rites,—in every age the faith and the practice of the church has been identical; and it must teach such persons to cling to and contend for these, instead of attaching undue importance to modes and opinions that have been constantly varying.

The practice of exhibiting what the church has conceived to be the truth, and condemning the errors which, from time to time, were broached and propagated by its enemies, has been adopted from the beginning; and still prevails. With the view of showing, still further, the harmony which exists among those who "hold the Head," even under the most diverse forms of ecclesiastical polity,—to the more anciently published creeds adopted in these countries, is added "The Declaration of the Congregational Churches."

That "Confessions," like other things, may be abused,—on the one hand, by being *enforced* upon unwilling consciences by the fear of loss or the hope of emolument,—and on the other *adopted*, hypocritically, from sinister designs, by unprincipled individuals,—is at once admitted; but that, when properly used, they are important and warrantable, is by the common practice of all the orthodox churches admitted and sanctioned. They evince the sense in which Scripture is understood,—exhibit the union of the friends of truth, in the assertion of its principles and testifying against corruptions,—and lay the foundation for harmony, in the "walking together" of those who are thus "agreed." pp. vii—x.

- Art. VIII. 1. *The Church its own Enemy*, being an Answer to the Pamphlets of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers. Particularly to his Aspersions on the Town Council of Edinburgh. Second Edition, corrected. By Adam Black. 8vo., pp. 60. Edinburgh, 1835.
2. *Statement relative to Church Accommodation in Scotland*: in Answer to the Representations in the Circular of the Moderator of the General Assembly, &c. By the Scottish Central Board for Vindicating the Rights of Dissenters. Third Edition, with an Appendix. 8vo., pp. 24. Edinburgh, 1835.

MOST truly is the Church—if we must give that name to an ecclesiastical establishment intended to secure a monopoly to a portion of the Church,—its own enemy; and most apposite in its application is the proverb which Mr. Black places upon his title page: “Every wise woman buildeth her house, but the foolish plucketh it down with her hands.” The infatuation of the upholders of the Church and State policy is extreme, and looks, we had almost said, like judicial blindness. Is it not pitiable to find such men as Dr. Chalmers, the sworn enemy of all compulsory payments for the support of the poor, coming forward as the champion of compulsory payments for the maintenance of the ministers of his own sect, and calling upon the Government for fresh grants of the public money, in order to outbuild and outbid the voluntaries, who have outstripped the state Church in providing for the spiritual wants of the people? We honestly confess that we have read Mr. Black’s clear and triumphant exposure of the Doctor’s unaccountable blunders and unwarrantable aspersions with astonishment. Never was a charge more triumphantly refuted than that which Dr. Chalmers brought against the Town Council. We have not room to go into the subject, but we strongly recommend our readers to obtain Mr. Black’s pamphlet, which, though relating chiefly to a local dispute, furnishes a very strong case against the very principle of Establishments. We must make room for the following paragraph.

‘The Church (of Scotland) has long since lost its hold on the affections and confidence of the common people; that class which Dr. Chalmers is so anxious to recall to its communion. Give them sittings in the Established churches cheap or altogether free, they will not return. Time was when the inhabitants looked up to their ministers as their counsellors and defenders, but that was when the ministers were not the instruments of the court, or a court faction, but defenders against the corruption and the Church Establishment of the court. The people have long had to contemplate the ministers of the Establishment, not only subject but obsequious to the government that supported them; and during the reign of terror, when despotic go-

vernments trenched upon the liberties of the subject, they had ground to believe that the clergy sympathized with their overbearing rulers, and encouraged them in all their despotic measures; and in the late tremendous struggle between a nation determined to assert its rights, and an aristocracy resolute in withholding them, the clergy, with a few exceptions, have thrown their influence into the scale of corruption, and ranged themselves against the people. Even to the present hour, the ministers of the Establishment gave their votes and their influence in favour of men whom the common people almost universally consider as the enemies of their rights and liberties.

‘In regard to religious matters, they have not failed to remark the indifference which, with some bright exceptions, the Establishment has manifested, and the supercilious refusal of many of its ministers to co-operate with ministers and members of other denominations, for the advancement of objects of a benevolent and religious nature: they remember the disfavour which they at first showed to Sabbath schools,—the refusal of many of them to join with Christians of Dissenting communions in the Bible Society,—the coldness and dislike with which the Establishment regarded missionary exertions, till after standing all the day idle for very shame, they at last felt compelled to enter upon the work at the eleventh hour, and then in how feeble a way! A facetious minister of the Church used to say, that the Church of Scotland’s Mission put him in mind of a “clocking hen wi’ ae bird;” while the poor and small body of Baptists have their missionaries widely spread among the heathen. I need not again refer to the state and conduct of the Church in the Highlands and destitute districts, nor to the undue superiority which the churchmen assume over other denominations of Christians. And when they see, coupled with this, the wealthy members of chapels of ease petitioning Parliament for State endowments, that they may throw their own burden on others, their alienation from the Church is confirmed, and their opposition strengthened.’ pp. 47, 48.

In no point of view does the conduct of the Anti-Voluntaries appear so dishonourable, so irreconcilably at variance with candour or Christian integrity, as in the delusive statements put forth with regard to the want of Church accommodation. The palpable unfairness of these statements is demonstrated in the second of these pamphlets by a series of statistical tables, which entirely demolish the pretence upon which the application for new churches is grounded. For instance, in sixteen of the places referred to in the Circular of the Assembly’s Committee, it is shewn, that instead of the alleged deficiency of church room, stated at 159,444, there is a real surplus of 35,653, according to the principle of calculation laid down by Dr. Cleland! The table attached to the Circular

‘keeps entirely out of view, the accommodation provided by Dissenters of different denominations, and takes up the extravagant position, that whatever may be their religious opinions, accommodation connected with the Establishment, sufficient for the *whole* population,

ought to be provided out of the public funds. In consequence of this omission, and by overrating the quantity of church accommodation required, the deficiency is made to appear enormous ; for it will be seen from the remarks and table, afterwards given, that in the places which have been selected, while the Establishment has only provided, in both Churches and Chapels of Ease, 113,026 ; Dissenters, acting on the voluntary system, have provided 141,770 sittings ; and it is also of importance to remark, that of the above 141,770 sittings, upwards of 130,000 are provided by evangelical Dissenters, who, it will not be denied, teach the great doctrines of the Gospel at least as purely and diligently as the clergy of the Establishment. Unless, therefore, in soliciting aid from government, the object is entirely sectarian, and with a view to proselyting from the ranks of Dissenters, this large supply cannot be disregarded.'

But that the object is sectarian there can be no doubt ; for the existence of the Church accommodation provided by Dissenters is the provocative to the exertions now making to furnish *cheaper* seats in the Churches of the Establishment, and thus to bribe the attendance of the poorer classes. But will Parliament suffer itself to be imposed upon by such fraudulent statements, or lend itself to this desperate effort to recover lost ground from the Dissenters at the public expense ! We cannot believe it.

Art. IX.—*Memoirs of John Frederic Oberlin.* Fifth Edition, 18mo. (with Portrait and Vignette.) London, 1835.

WE are pleased to see a fifth edition of this delightful piece of biography ; and in this attractive and elegant shape, it will form a very engaging present, fit to range among the Amethysts and Amulets and Keepsakes of the Boudoir or Library-table ;—or, what were better still, to displace some volume of less intrinsic value. The *Memoirs of Neff* would form an excellent companion volume.

ART. X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In a few days will be published, Ministerial Solitude and Fidelity, a Farewell Sermon addressed to the Congregation of Holland Chapel, North Brixton, June 21st, 1835. With a brief History of the Author's connexion with that Place of Worship. By John Styles, D.D.

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ART. XI. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

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